R. PALME DUTT

WHAT THE ENGLISH VOTER WANTS

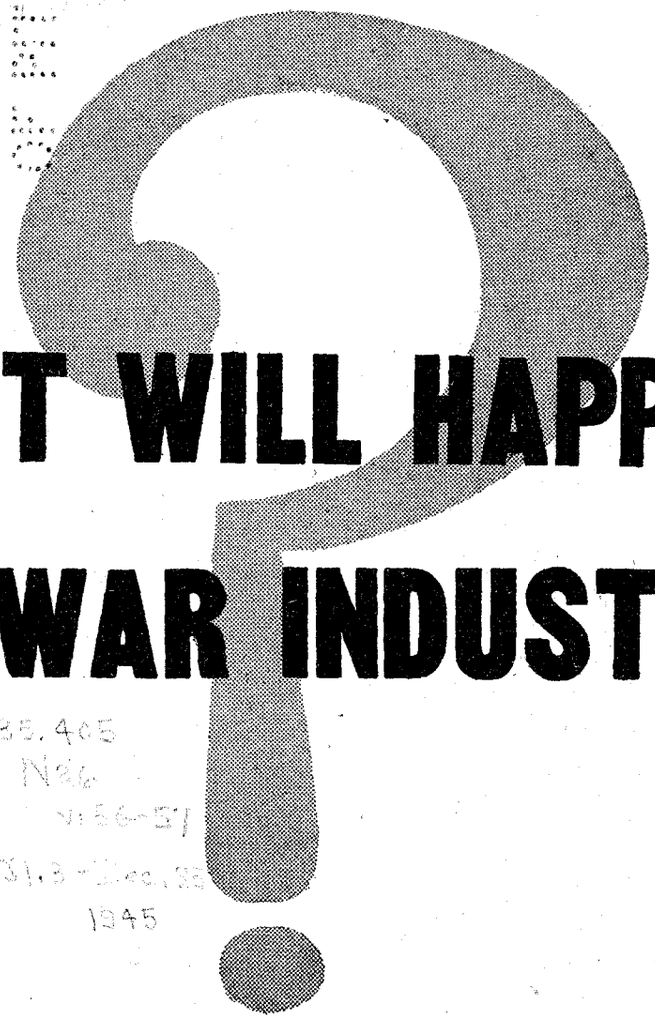
JULY 3
1945

NEW MASSES

In C 2

WEST COAST QUESTION MARK:

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO OUR WAR INDUSTRY



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By CELESTE STRACK

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

The Ball-Burton-Hatch Bomb, by The Editors; Behind the Polish Trials, by Abraham Penzik; Rebuking Mr. Biddle, by Virginia Gardner; What About Your Job?, by Lewis Merrill; Canadian Ballot Score, by John Weir; Koestler and Colonel Blimp, by Isidor Schneider.

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

ON SUNDAY we put on our country clothes, slung our Mexican bag with a little needle-work and fixings over our shoulder and set out for a green and quiet spot in Westchester county known as Dobbs Ferry. The train burrowed along underground for a while, broke into the sunlight in time to cross the Harlem river and clattered along with its burden of cotton-clad, sunburned (from earlier outings) cargo through thinning patches of suburban dwellings. We relaxed quietly and as we swung into sight of the blue-gray Hudson with its high green banks in the distance softened by the summer haze, we were glad we had done the big job of the Sunday papers late the night before. We counted the little stops with their friendly shelters and thought about this wonderful town of ours, where, for a small sum, one can be whisked to great white beaches or the green valleys to the north in time for a long sweet day and back again without being late to work on Monday. The particular spot which fell to our fortune this Sunday sat on the hillside—an old stone farmhouse, with a trellis over the front gate covered with those little climbing red roses that have bloomed around so many American houses.

We drew a deep breath of country air while shaking our host's hand and made noises about our pleasure all the way down the grape arbor to the terrace at the back. There, under an appropriately ancient apple tree, we sank into the green and white Adirondack chairs and looked out across the valley. Somebody put a long cold beer into our hands. Then the company converged on us. What was all this business about Duclos? What would the labor movement be up to now? The valley and the apple trees faded suddenly beyond the periphery of our senses, and we found ourselves deep in a heated conversation about reconversion, unemployment insurance, in-migrants, federally owned plants, with a couple of gentlemen who live weektimes in the narrow confines of Manhattan.

This went on and on even through the cold buffet supper into the late twilight when we suddenly realized that it took a little while to travel even the brief nineteen miles back to Manhattan, and we slung the unopened Mexican bag back on our shoulders and, under the first few stars, said farewell to our hosts and yes, we wanted very much to come again.

THIS week we got a plea from Elko, Nevada, urging us to "discontinue allocating so much space to Broadway plays," and to give more to American and foreign moving pictures. The writer, Norman Bode, argues, "I do not deny that the American play is of importance—but to whom is it important, actually? A relatively few city-dwellers, select ones—New Yorkers in particular. And yet even in New York I venture to say that the ratio of playgoers to moviegoers is such as to render the play a purely sectional thing." Our critic calls the theater, as it now appears, "outmoded as the horse-and-buggy or the bustle, a dim memory even to our elders." The moving picture, on the other hand, "constitutes one of the most important institutions in the life of the workingclass everywhere." Our correspondent hands a posy to our film critic, Joe Foster, who, he says, "stands alone for being consistently honest and intelligent." This brief note should serve as an invitation to other readers for further comment, and as a memorandum to Joe Foster, now on the West Coast running our annual art auction. We promise to show him the rest of the nice things Mr. Bode says about him when he gets back.

"IT'S colossal, its stupendous"—th the promise at the top of the i vitation to Gropper's Tenth Annual Fiesta. And what follows proves the blurb, even if you didn't naturally take it for granted. It's dinner and "Music, Magic, Mimicry" by a whole host of wonderful friends of Spain, the real Spain, plus a speakers' list which includes the Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs, Dorothy Parker, Marjorie Chodorov as assorted chairmen, and Albert E. Kahn as main speaker. And of course the Groppers, Bill and Sophie, aren't doing this just because Bill is back (with honors) from San Francisco, though that would be reason enough to celebrate. The benefits go to one of the causes dearest to all anti-fascists, the Joint Anti-fascist Refugee Committee, to help those who were among the first to see the need to fight, and whose plight is still an international disgrace. Write or phone "The Groppers," 192 Lexington Ave., N. Y.—LE 2-3134 and you will get the charming handbill complete with map, train schedules and taxi directions. While we wait for July 7, we say, "Hi and welcome home!" to Bill (we did it privately on the phone, but we want to do it publicly as well) and promise his page will be back next issue. V. S.

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NEW MASSES
VOL. LVI JULY 3, 1945 NO. 1

THE BALL-HATCH-BURTON BOMB

By THE EDITORS

SENATORS BALL, Burton and Hatch tossed a sputtering bomb into the American scene last week, which, if permitted to explode, will do more damage than any easure of domestic legislation in generations. Their abor relations" bill, verbally devoted to "industrial harony," "fair play," and other euphonious pretensions, is litical and industrial dynamite of the highest power—d the sooner our entire people is aware of this, the tter for our country.

Estimate of the bill's real intent can be measured by e unanimity of labor disapproval—every major trade nion organization has spoken out vigorously in opposition. nly traditional anti-labor spokesmen have welcomed the easure.

Twenty-four hours after the proposed legislation t the front pages—it evidently required that much me to go through the voluminous legalistic twists of the ll—this much was clear: first, the bill would in effect nul all the advances made by labor during Roosevelt's residency, would render the Wagner act meaningless; cond, it would even rip to pieces forward-looking legistion of the pre-FDR days, like the Norris-La Guardia nti-injunction act; third, it would be a boon to all who ave sought the return of the open shop; fourth, it would sten workingmen in the vise of compulsory arbitration nd propel them into a maze of endless litigation; fifth, it ould foment government intervention into the life of ade unions on the pretext of "safeguarding democracy," hereby implying that all labor bodies are racket-controlled; nd finally, it would divert labor's attention from the lifend-death problems of reconversion, oblige it to battle for s very existence as an effective, organized entity. The ll would act to touch off industrial strife; labor, faced ith unemployment and a rapidly falling income (the Deartment of Commerce revealed that for the month of pril incomes dropped four percent compared to March, he sharpest drop for one month in six years), is obliged o consider all measures to safeguard its actual living standrds. The Ball-Burton-Hatch legislation would deprive hem of traditional safeguards and methods explicit and imlicit in the Wagner Act and instead of promoting industrial peace, would invite strife.

A word about its sponsors. Donald Richberg, it is common knowledge, had a major part in drafting the measure. Mr. Richberg—whatever his past, and that is none too nspiring—is today a leading corporation lawyer, one of Standard Oil's biggest legalistic guns. His name is associated with the Railway Labor Act of 1926, which pretty effectively transformed one of the strongest union setups in the country into a handshackled giant, so that today the railroadman is one of the poorest paid industrial workers in the land. Mr. Richberg's pretensions as a friend of labor were blasted when, as general counsel for NRA in the early Roosevelt days, he interpreted section 7A of the National Industrial Recovery Act as an open shop guarantee, and at one time definitely implied that strikes were illegal.

Operating on the false tenet that labor and capital are entities of equal strength, and that employers have been getting a raw deal, he would completely subvert the principle that underlies the Wagner act—i.e., that the employer possesses inherent advantages over the workingman and that therefore the latter's interests must be protected by the state. Mr. Richberg—and the sponsoring Senators—are acting in the interests of all employers and enemies of labor who have thundered his viewpoint throughout the years of the Roosevelt administration in their effort, at first, to stop the Wagner legislation, and afterward, to sabotage and to destroy it completely. The propaganda, if accepted, that the power of labor and management require "equalization," would restore the imperious, swashbuckling days the National Association of Manufacturers yearns for, and labor's welfare would be set back generations.

NEW MASSES wishes to emphasize that this is a matter of life-and-death significance to our democracy. If organized labor—the most progressive stratum of our democratic structure—were to be weakened, crippled, the entire edifice stands in danger of toppling. This is a matter of equal concern to professional and middle-class people, as well as to the workingman and to the country.

Finally, a word about the senatorial sponsors. Because they enjoy a liberal reputation as the B2H2 political compound, they are in a position to do more damage than if a group of unreconstructed reactionaries were the sponsors. We do not, at this writing, know the rock-bottom inspiration of this bill, but it impels, inevitably, the speculation that central groups of the employing class are responsible. It is class legislation, and it has as its objective purpose—regardless of the fine words and idealistic sentiments of its sponsors—the reversal of labor's gains in the past dozen years, and more. Does it mean that the employers secretly embarked on a devious, but reckless course to smash organized labor, to head into a labor-baiting, labor-hating crusade that characterized the end of the last war? Workers, and their friends, are asking that question. It is, indeed, a fateful question, as the gigantic problems of reconversion, of full employment, are on us. For these reasons, labor must meet the threat *unitedly*, settle its past differences in face of the common peril. We urge our readers, and all those they influence, to make known their objection to the bill, make it known so significantly, that Congress will be obliged to reject this sinister legislation. Any other course means calamity to our democracy.

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WHAT BRITAIN'S VOTER WANTS

By R. PALME DUTT

London (by wireless).

THE present general election in Britain is the first major test of political currents in the democratic world following victory over fascism. Its outcome will have a very important bearing not only on the future of Britain but on the future of world politics and the part Britain will play in the postwar world. It is universally recognized that the foundation of postwar peace and security and of the democratic partnership of nations is the close cooperation and understanding of Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States. This foundation is not in principle questioned in the present election. It is accepted in the program of every party.

Nevertheless, it is not true that foreign policy plays no part in this election. S[illegible]e closing stages of the war, and [illegible] since the formation of the [illegible]aretaker's government, there [illegible] been revealed certain disquieting [illegible]dencies of British policy which have caused alarm among all democrats.

Churchill's broadcast of May 13 first strongly emphasized these tendencies, which were further brought to the fore by the behavior of Anthony Eden at San Francisco, the attitude toward Tito, the actions in northern Italy, the Flensburg and similar episodes in relation to Germany. These tendencies were also exemplified by the encouragement and subsidizing of the most outrageous Polish pro-fascist and anti-Soviet incitement, the organized whispering campaign against the USSR, as well as the provocative inclusion of the principal anti-Crimea champions in key junior positions in the Foreign and War offices. All these tendencies have been to some extent deliberately overemphasized as part of the game of balance of power politics, as conceived by British diplomacy without being intended as a basic change of policy. But they have inevitably thrown an ugly question mark over the whole future of British policy in the eyes of world opinion. Will those forces of Tory reaction which have in the past shown such friendship for fascism and hostility toward the Soviet Union and democracy, and which are now so strongly reasserting themselves, succeed in strengthening their position in this election and thus win a free hand to undermine the basis of the democratic alliance at some future point? Or will the progressive, democratic forces of the British people succeed in taking over the leadership and in forming a new government in Britain which will be a true partner of the democratic and progressive nations of the world? This is one main issue of the election, although not directly proclaimed in the party programs or the most prominent in the minds of the electors.

THE main issue, which is the principal issue of the election in the minds of the electors, is the question of reconstruction in Britain. Britain was faced with critical problems of decline before the war. In the new world situation, at the close of the war, they have become a hundred times more critical. Every observer recognizes the necessity of a basic, technical reconstruction. Coal, iron and steel, transport, textiles—all reveal the same picture of obsolete equipment and disorganization combined with tight monopoly and crippling capital charges and deadweight costs thereby preventing reorganization. Hence the demand for nationalization is no socialist issue but a plain necessity of postwar reconstruction and even economic survival.

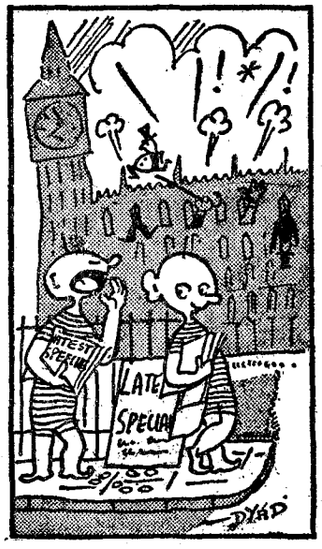
Similarly, the effects of landlordism is crippling necessary housing schem and town planning. The housin crisis, already bad even before the wa is now very serious. The question i will the old reactionary rentier an monopoly forces concentrated in th Tory Party succeed in maintaining the stranglehold and prevent reorgan zation? Will they seek as before t find the solution in policies of restric tion and of intensified exploitation c the colonial empire? These policies ar ever more grimly clung to in the mids of a world which is less and less pre pared to tolerate the continuance of th colonial system. Or will the progres sive forces prove strong enough to tak over the leadership in order to carr through the necessary immediate meas ures of social and economic policy a home, a progressive international eco nomic policy, and a new relationshi with India and the colonial peoples? This is the second main issue of the election.

Toryism is fighting for its life in thi election. The Tories are out to repeat the tactics of 1918. It will be remembered a snap election was called immediately after the Armistice to cash in quickly on the victory and on the reputation of Lloyd George as a war leader. On this basis there were returned to Parliament all of the hardfaced men who looked, as Lord Keynes described it, as if they had done well out of the war. Since then Toryism has continuously held power in Britain, with the exception of the two and a half years of the two minority Labor governments.

Once again the Tories are trying to work a snap election. The sudden decision to call the election, reached within a fortnight of V-E Day, in the face of the protests of all the opposition parties, means that very large numbers of voters, especially working class voters and servicemen, estimated by some newspapers as high as 4,000,000, will be disenfranchised owing to the imperfect condition of the register and to wartime difficulties in respect of their address and place of voting.

The Tories hope once again to cash in on victory and on the reputation of Churchill as the war leader. But 1945 is not 1918. The people have been through experiences between the wars

War Babies



"I said 'Heavy barrage again tonight, Alfie.'"

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nd during the war which have produced a degree of political awakening both among the civilian population and among the servicemen never before equalled in Britain and manifesting itself in a powerful current of popular feeling against toryism and towards the left. Indeed, one of the reasons why the Tories have rushed the election is because they are very sharply aware of their sinking popularity and wish therefore, to put through the election as quickly as possible before that sinking popularity becomes a landslide against them.

IF THE contest were a straight contest between the Tories and the labor movement and progressive sections of the nation, there would be no doubt whatever about the outcome. The Gallup Poll held just on the eve of the election announcement in May of this year put the question—if Liberal, Labor, Commonwealth and the Communist Parties united in a popular front against the Conservatives [Tories] at the next general election who would you be most likely to vote for, the popular front candidate or the Conservative? The answers in advance of any election campaign showed already fifty-five percent for the popular front as against twenty-four percent for the Conservatives. Unfortunately, this popular front which would have guaranteed victory has not been established, although the powerful current of opinion in favor of its establishment came within an ace of success at the recent Labor Party conference. The vote of those who were in favor of considering the proposal for such an electoral agreement reached 1,219,000 against 1,314,000 for the executive position. This was not only the highest vote for unity recorded at any Labor Party conference but also undoubtedly represented the outlook of the overwhelming majority of the rank and file of the labor movement, since the one and one-quarter million votes included the votes of organizations which had consulted their membership or delegate conferences on the issue. Therefore, if more organizations had consulted their membership it is likely that an overwhelming majority for the proposal would have been assured. Indeed, had the executive even abstained from exercising its pressure against unity there is no doubt that unity would have been carried.

This rejection of unity has been the main gift to the otherwise sinking fortunes of toryism in this election. The fight in this election has constantly to be fought in more difficult conditions in view of the character of the electoral system. In the old Parliament there were 401 tories including Conservatives, Liberal Nationals, Nationals, and so forth, as against 193 progressives, represented by 168 Labor, twenty Liberals, four Commonwealth and one Communist. In this election there are expected to be about 600 Conservative candidates, 600 Labor candidates, 300 Liberal candidates, possibly some thirty Commonwealth, twenty-two Communists, as well as Independents and small groups. In view of the single member constituency system, returning the candidate who gets the top vote irrespective of whether he has a majority or not, the division of progressive votes raised the danger of the return of Tories on a minority vote in a number of cases. This is the only feature which gives rise to uncertainty as to the result of the election.

A Gallup Poll taken in the latter part of May asking if there were a general election tomorrow how would you vote, shows the following proportions: Labor forty percent, Conservative twenty-four percent, Liberal twelve percent, Communist two percent, Commonwealth two percent. The Communist Party has put forward the policy for a Labor and Communist majority in the election in view of the paramount importance of unity to defeat toryism. The Communist Party, which had already fifty-two candidates in the field with strongly established campaigns and could on the basis of its strength easily have run a very considerably greater number, has reduced its contestants to the limited number of twenty-two. Further, in the majority of cases the Communist Party has placed its contest not in its own strongest ground, which would have involved a conflict with Labor, but principally in Tory strongholds. In all other than the twenty-two constituencies where the Communist Party is directly contesting, the Communists are giving full support to the Labor candidates.

No prophets are venturing to predict the results of this election, but the entire Labor and Communist movement is entering into this fight with enormous confidence and enthusiasm and with a very real spirit of unity throughout the country.

CANADA'S BALLOT SCORE

By JOHN WEIR

Toronto.

FIVE million Canadians at home and in the armed services went to the polls on June 11. The votes of the services have now been counted up, bringing practically no change from the verdict rendered by the civilian electors, except for the annoyance which Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King must undergo in taking a "safe" seat in a by-election, having been nosed out of his old Saskatchewan riding by the soldiers' vote.

The Liberal Party, led by King, received thirty-nine percent of the popular vote and elected 119 members to the 245 seats in the House of Commons. The Tories, rechristened the Progressive-Conservative Party, got twenty-eight percent of the votes and sixty-five seats. The Social-Democratic CCF (Cooperative Commonwealth Federation) got twenty-eight seats with sixteen percent of the vote. The rest of the votes and the thirty-three remaining seats were divided among other parties and various Independents, including 110,000 votes for the sixty-seven candidates of the Labor-Progressive Party (Communist), which reelected Fred Rose in Montreal-Cartier.

The Dominion election demonstrated that the process of the breakdown of the two-party system in Canada is continuing. The Liberal Party, while it will form the government, has not got a clear majority of the seats. The Tories, who made a terrific bid to capture the federal administration (and the big money in the country was in this election almost wholly behind the Tory campaign) actually lost votes as compared to 1940, although they increased

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their parliamentary representation. And the Left—Labor, reform and socialist forces—deeply split on policy, failed to achieve decisive positions in the House of Commons and in the government.

The new King government, lacking a complete majority, will now rest on an alliance with the seven Independent Liberals elected from the province of Quebec who had left the fold because of opposition to the government's conscription policy during the war, and will be under direct pressure of the strengthened Tory opposition in the House of Commons.

Such are the general results of the Canadian elections. But the picture would not be complete without a brief review of some preceding events which had a great effect on the outcome of the vote and will certainly play a great role in determining the future.

Two-thirds of Canada's population is centered in the two great industrial central provinces, English-speaking Ontario and French-speaking Quebec. In 1943 the provincial election in Ontario resulted in the establishment of a minority Tory government under ultra-reactionary Col. George A. Drew, who had thirty-eight seats in the Ontario Legislature to thirty-four for the CCF, [illegible] Liberals and two Labor-[illegible]. Last year, also on a [illegible], the French-Canadian [illegible]ories, calling themselves *Union Nationale*, came to power under the premiership of the viciously reactionary Maurice Duplessis in the province of Quebec.

Between them these two Tory provincial administrations exerted powerful influence to prevent social reform legislation, housing, and so forth, from being carried out. Due to the constitutional set-up under the British North America Act, which gives the provinces much greater rights in the field of labor and social legislation than is the case with the states in the USA, the Tory provincial governments of Ontario and Quebec serve as a bulwark against progressive measures in Canada. While during the war the federal administration is in a position to circumvent this sabotage to some extent by enacting Orders-in-Council, this power will automatically cease with the end of the war emergency.

ONE year ago the Labor-Progressive Party launched a campaign to unite the forces of the Left and join in coalition with the reform Liberals both to break the power of the Tories in Ontario and Quebec and to prevent a Tory victory in the federal election. This policy advanced by the LPP gained strong backing in some of the big trade unions and among the people, but came up against the partisan isolationism of the leaders of the CCF in the first place, whose strategy was based on forcing the Liberal and Conservative parties into a shot-gun marriage, with the CCF demanding the monopoly of the left-wing vote and aiming to form the opposition in a new two-party set-up.

In March of this year the political crisis came to a head in the Ontario Legislature when the CCF, Liberals and LPP joined in defeating the Drew government. The LPP then proposed that the three parties form an electoral agreement under which there would be one progressive candidate opposing a Tory in every Ontario constituency. This was flatly refused by the CCF, which placed candidates in every riding, even in such places as Windsor where the powerful United Automobile Workers unions put up candidates of their own and received endorsement from both the Liberal and Labor-Progressive Parties. The result was that the progressive forces were split wide open and in June Colonel Drew was returned to power on a minority of votes but with a clear majority in the legislature. The heaviest loser was the CCF, which retains only six of its former thirty-four seats. The LPP returned its two members to the legislature and the UAW elected one in Windsor.

This Ontario provincial election, held just one week before the federal vote, had a powerful influence on the Canadian electorate. The threat of a national Tory victory loomed large, particularly after it was disclosed that the Conservative Party had made a deal with the pro-fascist *Bloc Populaire* and Duplessis' "Independents" in the province of Quebec. Liberal leader Prime Minister King utilized the popular fear of a Tory regime for his own partisan advantage, calling upon the electorate to vote Liberal as the only alternative to a Tory government. Labor, divided by the CCF tactic of "socialism or nothing" and refusal of a united front, played a meager role in the election. The CCF concentrated its campaign on Red-baiting against the LPP and actually succeeded by this tactic in defeating LPP leader Tim Buck in Toronto-Trinity and Sam Carr in Spadina, as well as other Labor men throughout the country.

By this policy the CCF cut its own throat. It failed to elect a single member in Ontario or Quebec, and its group in the House of Commons, while larger than in the previous House, is almost completely limited to the Western prairie farm ridings.

Following the election, reaction is beginning its offensive against Labor and social reform, against jobs and housing, etc., on the whole front. Basing itself on the Tory administrations in the two decisive provinces of Ontario and Quebec, and the strengthened Tory positions in the federal House, reaction is directing its first fire on the labor movement. The crisis is growing in labor relations and in a whole number of industries sharp struggles lie ahead.

The National Executive of the Labor-Progressive Party has issued a call to labor to unite its ranks in the struggle to protect trade union rights and concessions won during the war and to exert the utmost pressure upon the King government to adopt progressive policies in the reconversion period. The LPP calls on the CCF group of twenty-six in the new Parliament to use its strength in the House by demanding that Mackenzie King implement his promises of measures to maintain full employment and to provide social security, a policy which could with rising public pressure swing the new King government from its present reliance on the Right and win great concessions for the people.

Great battles are shaping up. The split in the progressive camp has resulted in these struggles taking place under conditions less favorable than would otherwise have been the case. But Canadian labor has been learning the all-decisive lesson of unity. Even leaders of the CCF have resigned in protest against its blind partisan policies. H. W. Herridge, recently expelled from the CCF for advocating unity, was elected to the House of Commons on June 11 from Kootenay West, for example. The trade union movement is being cleared of the "CCF or nothing" paralysis. The lessons of the federal election are coming home.

Mr. Weir is the editor of the "Canadian Tribune."

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WEST COAST QUESTION MARK

By CELESTE STRACK

San Francisco.

THE great new industrial frontier of our nation—the West—today faces a critical situation. A deep uneasiness over the future shadows the buoyant and typically Western optimism with which this section of the country undertook the vast task of expanding industry to meet wartime needs. The splendid, modern plants erected in the seven westernmost states of California, Oregon, Washington, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and Idaho have already begun to close down. The structural steel mill at Geneva, Utah, pride of Western industry, ceased operations on June first; its plate mill is due to run only a short while longer. Three out of the four huge magnesium plants in this region have closed and the fourth is running at fifty percent of capacity. California's two big aluminum mills are closed down. Shipyard layoffs are increasing, employment in thirty-six major West Coast yards is declining from a peak of 554,000 in August 1943, to 415,000 by April of this year. Aircraft employment is likewise on the downgrade, falling from a high point of 302,000 in thirteen main establishments on the Coast to 214,000 in April. Only the chemicals and synthetic industries seem to be maintaining production and employment, together with ship repair yards, where there has been some increase in employment. But the general picture is one of sharp decline—even before the completion of the war against Japan; which is making special demands on the Pacific Coast.

Throughout the West runs the question of tomorrow: Will the plants reopen? Is the current trend only a temporary phenomenon which will vanish with peacetime? Or does the present course of events foreshadow more drastic developments? Will the ghost towns left by the old West be followed by the ghost industries of the new? The answers to these questions hinge on many factors, some national and international, others specifically regional. To get at them, one must review briefly the character of the spectacular wartime expansion of the West.

Before the war, the West in the main lacked heavy industry. Its economy was based primarily upon extractive industries, such as lumber, petroleum, mining, fishing and agriculture, and the production of certain consumer goods and services like motion pictures, clothing, furniture and tourist facilities.

During the war, Western industrial plant expansion has outstripped that of any other region. The increase in volume of industrial output has been proportionally twice that of any comparable area. In shipbuilding and aircraft, the two most important wartime industries, the rise from 1939 to 1943 was phenomenal—3,709 percent and 2,867 percent respectively.

The West has acquired the two most up-to-date steel mills in the United States, probably in the world, with the construction of a $200,000,000 mill at Geneva, Utah, owned by the federal government and operated by US Steel, and a $100,000,000 concern at Fontana, California, owned by Henry Kaiser, but financed by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Eight new aluminum plants in the seven Western states comprise fifty percent of the nation's total capacity, while four magnesium plants are capable of producing one-third of our national output of this metal. Ultra-modern "test-tube" industries, producing the crucial chemicals and synthetics of war from the products and by-products of wood, petroleum, coal, and other raw materials, sprang up and expanded. Production of turbines, Diesels, and other engines and machinery has enlarged the Western core of heavy industry. Manufacturing employment reflected this development, rising from 621,000 in the seven Western states in 1939 to 1,462,000 in 1944, an increase of 135 percent.

This new economic frontier was made possible chiefly by two factors: the nearly $2,000,000,000 of federal government funds poured into the West for the construction of plant facilities and equipment; and a wave of human migration from the Midwest and South, drawn by the needs and opportunities of war production, and comparable in scope to the great westward movements of pioneer days. Surveys made recently indicate that seventy-five to eighty percent of these in-migrants, as they are called, wish to remain after the war.

The West wants to keep its new industries and its new population. It believes this desire is well-founded, for it has not only the people and the plants, but also most of the natural resources with which to supply its new manufacturing industries. In Western river valleys is located fifty percent of the potential hydro-electric power of the United States, harnessed by the great TVA's of this region, the Grand Coulee and Bonneville Dams on the Columbia River in the Northwest and the Central Valley Development of California. The seven Western states produce ninety percent of our nation's mercury, seventy percent of its copper, forty percent of its lead, and twenty-five percent of its zinc. The West asked, even before the war, why these and other raw materials should be shipped East for fabrication and then returned to the West for sale and export. Today the question is more pointed since this area is now equipped with its own industrial plants. Is there not room in our national economy for the balanced development of all regions? Indeed, is not the continuation of Western industrial development one contribution the West must make to any national program for 60,000,000 jobs?

BUT the problem is not a simple one. The first hitch is that aircraft and ship construction, which account directly or indirectly for the vast bulk of manufacturing employment, are in the main not convertible to peacetime production. The combined output of commercial transports, private planes, and military aircraft after the war will not exceed ten percent of wartime production, even according to the most optimistic estimates. The prospect for shipyards is even worse. While some yards will be retained for repair purposes, the amount of new construction will be less than in aircraft since ships become obsolescent less rapidly than planes. Moreover, conversion of both industries to other products would require a tremendous investment in additional equipment and facilities virtually equivalent to the construction of new plants. When it is remembered that other new industries like steel, light metals, and plastics have been producing largely for plane and ship construction, the

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Pipe Dream, by Norman Thomas.

immensity of the problem is apparent.

The implications for employment are clear. According to estimates of the Federal Reserve Bank, employment in West Coast shipyards and aircraft will fall from its peak of approximately 860,000 in 1943 to about 80,000 in the postwar period, a loss of 780,000 jobs. Taking into account the resulting decline in other industries, the number of discharged workers could well reach 850,000. There will also be 668,200 demobilized veterans in West Coast states, according to the US Department of Labor. This brings the grand total of potential postwar unemployment on the Pacific Coast to about one and a half million, without considering the inland states—and the potential becomes daily more of a reality.

In the early stages of employment decline, there are certain compensatory factors, which to date have kept the number of workers drawing unemployment insurance considerably below the total of those released from war production. A certain percent is absorbed into other fields of employment, like food production and distribution, lumbering, or the service trades. Others go into business for themselves or start their own farms. Younger workers and some returning servicemen will go back to school. Part of the women are dropping out of the labor force. A percentage of migrants from other states will go home, although this merely shifts the problem from one area to another. But the situation in the West will become more acute as the employment decline becomes more precipitous. Ultimately there will be at least a million workers in this area wanting jobs.

Most of these jobs must be provided by the manufacturing industries. This will require the development of new fabricating and processing plants and equipment, to replace in large measure the shipyards and aircraft plants as the users of steel, light metals, synthetics and other Western products. *In other words, the problem of the West differs from that of the Midwest and East in that it is primarily one not of reconversion but of new industrial development.*

What possibilities exist for solving this problem? What difficulties must be overcome?

On the positive side, there is a wide variety of useful products which could be made in the new industrial West if more fabricating plants and equipment are provided. There are many uses for the 3,500,000 tons of steel the West can now produce, given the installation of additional facilities such as strip mills. This includes tin plate, used by the West's vast canning industry, which in pre-war years consumed one-third the national output, tubular steel employed for plumbing and petroleum production, as well as cold rolled sheets, structural steel and possibly steel rails. Light metals have infinite peacetime possibilities ranging from transportation equipment in which their lighter weight would reduce operating costs, through structural materials like pre-fabricated housing, metal furniture and household equipment. Both steel and light metal can be utilized for farm and mining equipment. Some types of machinery and electrical equipment employed in petroleum production, in mining, on the farm and in the home can be easily produced in the West. The chemical and synthetic industries have almost limitless vistas: badly needed fertilizer, plastics with revolutionary prospects for everything from house construction to gadgets, synthetic rubber, and miscellaneous industrial chemicals. Moreover, these new "test-tube" industries will prolong by many years the life of the West's two declining extractive industries, lumber and petroleum, from which many synthetics are made.

To develop fully such products, however, there must be improvement in technical methods of utilizing available Western resources, such as alumina clay and Western coals; Western scientists and economists believe such problems can be adequately solved. They emphasize the tremendous importance of the huge, cheap Western power supply, which is a decisive factor in the production of light metals and chemicals, and which will be increasingly employed in

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electro-furnace steel production and other lines. The essential difficulty therefore does not lie in the field of science or economical use of natural resources.

More relevant is the matter of insuring markets for Western products to replace wartime government expenditures. In the postwar period, foreign markets should increase over pre-war levels. Before the war, annual average exports from West Coast ports totalled, during 1936-38 for example, only $360,000,000, or twelve percent of the value of all US exports. Four-fifths of these shipments were supplied by six Western industries: fruits of all sorts; forest products from the Northwest; wheat, barley, and flour from the same region; petroleum products; canned fish; and a variety of chemicals. After the war, an increased amount of these same commodities will be needed all over the world, especially during the period of rehabilitation and reconstruction. There will also be a greatly increased market for industrial products, especially capital goods, provided such financing measures as Bretton Woods are put into effect. A share of this market, particularly in the Pacific Basin and Latin America, should go to the West's new industries.

The scope of this market will be determined by important political factors, including the internal situation in China, the future status of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples and the character of American-Soviet relations. If the democratic forces of this nation are able to compel a progressive solution of these problems, there will be a direct and stimulating effect on trade in the Pacific. Under favorable conditions, the US Department of Commerce estimate of $10,000,000,000 total annual exports with a West Coast figure of perhaps $1,200,000,000 might prove very moderate.

Concurrently, there is the question of the domestic market for Western products. For certain established lines like motion pictures, clothing, lumber, food and petroleum products a national market already exists. The new industries, however, have still to guarantee a postwar market other than exports. This new market may be primarily regional. However, it poses issues which must be viewed from two angles. First, the continued operation of the West's new industries, and the addition of new equipment and a host of fabricating and processing establishments to take up the slack left by shipyards and aircraft decline, would in itself help to maintain both an inter-industry market in the area for purchases of industrial goods, and an effective consumer demand based on the employment resulting from such production. This, however, even taken together with exports, would not suffice to fill the gap left by the reduction of government wartime supply contracts —which have totalled over $26,000,000,000 in the seven Western states— unless supplemented by substantial wage increases, the guarantee of fair farm prices and other measures to enhance the purchasing power of the ultimate consumer. Here again, the problem of the West merges with that of the nation as a whole. *However, it must be emphasized that failure in the West to take the first step—the continued operation of new industrial plants—will not only induce severe economic crisis in this part of the country but will contribute to greasing the skids for our national economy as well.*

The second part of Miss Strack's article will appear in next week's NEW MASSES.

BEHIND THE POLISH TRIALS

By ABRAHAM PENZIK

Dr. Penzik, who is a well known Polish Socialist and jurist now residing in this country, wrote the article below before the announcement was made of the formation of a Polish government of national unity. Except for some minor details the substance of what Dr. Penzik writes still holds. There is no doubt that the British government is morally guilty for defending the sixteen arrested Poles when they were engaged in subversive work against the Red Army and the Polish people. Nor can the American government be excluded from sharing this moral guilt when Mr. Stettinius heartily endorsed Foreign Minister Eden's description of these guilty Poles as "democratic."

On the brighter side of the ledger now is the fact that at long last Washington and London have lived up to their commitments made at Yalta. The provisional Polish government has been broadened through the addition of democratic Poles from abroad and from within the country. Perhaps by the time this issue of NEW MASSES *reaches the reader the new government will have been recognized by the British Foreign Office and our State Department. In any case the reactionary Poles in London, while they may no longer have diplomatic status, will undoubtedly continue their efforts to undermine Allied unity.—The Editors.*

TWELVE of the sixteen Poles arrested and tried by the Soviet Union have received prison terms ranging from four months to ten years, three were acquitted, and one has not yet been tried because of illness. The prosecutor did not ask for the death sentence and the Supreme Military Court showed great leniency in the verdict. All this did not happen without reasons, the main reason being that the convicted Poles were but accomplices who obeyed orders given by the Polish government in London, and particularly by its former commander in chief, General Sosnkowski. The instigators of the crimes perpetrated by the convicted Poles still enjoy liberty and the protection and support of the British Foreign Office.

It is small wonder that the Polish government-in-exile has persistently tried to convince public opinion that those arrested were innocent, and that they fell prey to a treacherous invitation from the Soviet authorities. Tomasz Arciszewski, the prime minister of the London government, and his adherents have known only too well that the trial would bring to light the facts that they had been hiding for a long time. Emigre Polish government propaganda has reached many high places in democratic countries and has been responsible for the misrepresentation of facts by statesmen of some importance. Two of them, Mr. Eden and Mr. Stettinius, declared officially at press conferences in San Francisco that "they were asking the Soviet government about the report that a number of prominent Polish democratic leaders in Poland had met for discussion with Soviet authorities during the latter part of March" and were

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arrested. The myth of the democratic outlook of the arrested Poles was promptly dispelled at San Francisco and the statements were duly amended. In a letter to the correspondent of the London *Times*, Ralph Parker, Marshal Stalin stated: "It is untrue that the arrested Poles were invited for negotiations with the Soviet authorities." Nevertheless, the justification for the arrest of the sixteen was not made clear until their trial in Moscow.

The news of the arrest of the Poles first came to this country in March. The only source for this information was the London Polish government. The matter was not widely discussed in the American press until the statements mentioned above were made on May 5 in San Francisco. In San Francisco I was asked by many American and foreign correspondents to clarify the situation in Poland and give the real story behind the arrests. This information was given freely and utilized by several well known newspapermen. Those writers who were not biased in the matter could have come to the conclusion even before the trials that the arrested Poles were guilty on the basis of the facts available to anyone for the asking. On May 22 in San Francisco I was interviewed on the radio concerning the arrested Poles. I said then:

"The Polish London government had clandestine civil representatives and an underground Home Army in Poland. The Home Army was dissolved by the London government in January 1945 —but only formally—under pressure of British government circles that were afraid of clashes between the Home Army and the Red Army, as the Home Army was known to be hostile to the Soviet Union. Factually, remnants of the Home Army under the command of General Okulicki have carried on, but against the Red Army and the Lublin government, instead of against the Germans. These remnants of the Home Army assassinated many isolated Red Army soldiers and over fifty recruiting officers of the Lublin government. The civil representatives were not even formally dissolved, and have 'carried on until they were recently arrested by the Russians' [in the words of the Polish consul in San Francisco] together with General Okulicki. This was admitted by the Polish consul on giving the background of the vice premier of the London government in Poland, Jan Jankowski. By the words 'carried on' he meant that these people obeyed orders and laws promulgated by the London government based upon the so-called constitution of 1935 and against the legal and binding constitution of 1921, and also against laws promulgated by the Lublin government which factually functions throughout Poland. Therefore, these civil representatives and General Okulicki were arrested by the Russians and the Lublin government demanded their extradition for a trial in Poland."

The Moscow trial proved this explanation to be correct. The Polish Provisional Government possesses the right to demand extradition of the sixteen Poles from the Soviet Union as well as the extradition from Britain of those most responsible for this tragedy. An agreement between the Committee of National Liberation (PCNL), which preceded the formation of a provisional government in Lublin, and the Soviet Union was concluded in July 1944. According to this agreement the PCNL had full authority in territories turned over to it by the Red Army, while in military zones the authority remained with the Red Army. Because the crimes of the sixteen were committed in the military zones and in the territories taken over by the PCNL (and the subsequent Provisional Government) as well, the Russian and the Polish authorities have jurisdiction over criminals in this case.

IN ADDITION to those legally responsible for the crimes of the sixteen Poles there are those who hold moral guilt in the matter. The Polish Government in London could not have communicated its orders to the Home Army and the clandestine civil representatives in Poland if it did not have the support of some diplomatic and government circles in Great Britain. These circles gave all possible aid to the Poles in London at least until Dec. 28, 1944, when the British relations with the Arciszewski government cooled off. For some time the London Poles and their adherents in Poland have used a code which the British supplied. At other times they used their own code, but with the consent of the British.

The existence of an exile government at a time when another government supported wholeheartedly by the Polish people exercised authority in liberated Poland is due to British policy. It is quite obvious that two governments or two kinds of order cannot exist for one country at the same time without tragic repercussions. The British government had access to the information that the PCNL, and later the Provisional Government, was adhering to the liberal constitution of 1921, while the government-in-exile observed the illegal and fascist constitution of 1935, and that a new democratic order was being created in Poland. Despite that the British government was not only hospitable to the Polish government-in-exile but by frequent reiteration of its recognition of the emigre government, encouraged its members to engage in activities directed against Lublin and against Soviet authorities.

No denials can convince the world that the British government circles are not partially to blame for what happened in Poland in connection with the subversive activities of the Home Army. At the Moscow trial one of the defendants, General Oukulicki, said that he had counted on a European bloc of Poland, Britain and Germany in a war against the USSR.

The Polish government in London through the medium of its telegraph agency recently admitted that remnants of the Home Army are still continuing their former functions despite the arrests of their former leaders. A spokesman of the emigre government stated during the Moscow trial that General Okulicki spoke the truth when he admitted that the Home Army did not give up its arms even after the orders issued by the Red Army. The same spokesman also admitted that the clandestine authorities still carry on.

The uninterrupted activities of subversive elements in Poland are made possible by the fact that the British government persists in not only recognizing the emigre government but in supplying it with financial support. And deeply regrettable is the fact that for some time the American State Department has endorsed British policy concerning Poland. If government circles in Great Britain wish to erase their moral guilt for past and future illegal acts committed against the Provisional Government in Poland and the Red Army by emissaries and adherents of the Polish London Government, they, as well as the American government, must withdraw their recognition, support and hospitality to the emigre government immediately.

The liquidation of the Polish government-in-exile will discourage subversive elements in Poland and speed unity among Poles and among the United Nations.

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REBUKING MR. BIDDLE

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

IT WAS an absorbing scene in the lofty, marble pillared Supreme Court chamber, with its red velvet draperies and its general austerity, and the vigorous personalities of its black robed justices, some glancing with frank interest at the full house they had. "Oyez, oyez, oyez," a shrill voice intoned, winding up with the familiar, "God save the United States and this honorable Court." The crowd, many of them lawyers and newspaper people who had been coming Monday after Monday for weeks now in the hope of hearing the historic Bridges decision, seemed tense. A couple of short decisions were read, and then Justice William O. Douglas, in a matter-of-fact voice, informally, almost casually, delivered the opinion of the majority, a slim majority, five to three, in the Harry Bridges case.

Seated prominently toward the front of the audience below was a tall figure in a limp summer suit. The high intellectual brow of Mr. Francis Biddle was pale. He looked haggard and miserable, and he didn't brighten as Mr. Justice Douglas blandly read on. This was the Attorney General's last appearance in the Court as Attorney General, the Court's last working day in the term. Mr. Biddle will be succeeded next month. It could not have been a more ignominious valedictory for the ex-liberal who had stubbornly pursued the Bridges case as only an ex-liberal could do, who surely expected it to be the triumph of his entire course of Red-baiting. Mr. Biddle had in effect based his career and prestige on the Bridges case, for he had gone to the uncommon lengths of retrieving it after the supposed final action of the Board of Immigration Appeals. The board had unanimously rejected the findings of Judge Charles S. Sears that the CIO longshoremen's leader had at one time been a member of and affiliated with the Communist Party and was deportable. But Biddle took the unprecedented step of intervening in the case and overruling the board.

Yes, it was a dramatic scene, and it became more so later when Justice Frank Murphy, his lean, ascetic face flushed, his blue eyes flashing, peered down from his perch apparently directly at Biddle and invoked the wrath of the Constitution against him for the entire procedure in the case. Nearby, of course, sat a short, compact figure, that of another ex-liberal, Justice Felix Frankfurter, once the hero of schoolboys in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, now among the three who dissented in the Bridges case.

One character was missing, however, to make a well-rounded scene. If only the pudgy figure and the pasty face of ex-Representative Martin Dies of the Un-American Activities Committee had been seated beside Biddle, hearing the living words of the law of our land from the blond Mr. Justice Douglas, Mr. Biddle would have looked less lonely, and Mr. Nathan Greene, even happier, if possible. Mr. Greene, who with Carol King wrote the Bridges brief for the defense, sat in full view of Mr. Biddle and his misery. By all rights Mr. Dies, now a simple big business oil man from Texas, should have been there holding Mr. Biddle's hand. For—get this straight—the majority decision may have sounded almost humdrum, but it is of devastating significance for the entire Dies-Biddle theory of taint by association in which Washington has found itself pretty thoroughly enmeshed.

LONG ago Mr. Biddle compiled a neat list of some sixteen organizations, and this he gave to the Dies committee. It was no secret. Members of the committee would say to you, as the ineffable Carl Mundt once did to me, that they never had really defined un-American or subversive, but just took the Department of Justice's definition. If a man was connected with what was called a "Communist-front" organization, that meant he was un-American. Being "connected" could mean most anything, too, such as making a speech before such a gathering. The list was even introduced in the *Congressional Record* at one time. Government workers were hounded if they bought a phonograph record from some bookstore on the list. The Civil Service Commission and the FBI used it. It was supposed to make the Red hunt respectable and authoritative, although Rep. Clinton Anderson, newly appointed Secretary of Agriculture, let it be known Mrs. Roosevelt had denounced to him the use of the list.

The Court's decision does not deal with the "larger constitutional questions" which the majority found it was unnecessary to consider, but the Murphy concurring opinion does—including the all-important question of whether the government proved that the Communist Party threatens the government by force and violence. It was Murphy, it will be remembered, who wrote the unforgettable opinion of the majority in the William Schneiderman case in which the government tried to deprive the California Communist leader of his citizenship. Nevertheless, the majority opinion, in which Justices Douglas, Murphy, Stanley Reed, Wiley B. Rutledge and Hugo L. Black concurred, disarms the attack on democracy waged for so long by the Biddle-Dies-Rankin technique, the common-participation theory.

The deportation order against Bridges which Mr. Biddle effected rested on two grounds—that he had at one time been both "affiliated" with the Communist Party and a member of it. This he had steadfastly denied. Dean Landis, trial examiner in the first Bridges hearing, which resulted in upholding the labor leader's denial, was quoted by the majority. Landis found that "persons engaged in bitter industrial struggles tend to seek help and assistance from every available source," but that to expand the legal term "affiliation" "to embrace within its terms *ad hoc* cooperation on objectives whose pursuit is clearly allowable under our constitutional system," was "warranted neither by reason nor by law." But Mr. Biddle ignored that.

The Supreme Court now finds that Bridges was ordered deported "on a misconstruction of the term 'affiliation' as used in the statute and by reason of an unfair hearing on the question of membership evidence unfairly shown." A lower court was ordered to revoke the deportation order.

"He who renders financial assistance to any organization may generally be said to approve of its objectives or aims," read Justice Douglas. "So Congress declared in the case of an alien who contributed to the treasury of an organization whose aim was to overthrow the government by force and violence. But

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he who cooperates with such an organization only in its *wholly lawful activities* cannot by that fact be said as a matter of law to be 'affiliated' with it. Nor is it conclusive that the cooperation was more than intermittent and showed a rather consistent course of conduct. Common sense indicates that the term 'affiliation' in this setting should be construed more narrowly. Individuals, like nations, may cooperate in a common cause over a period of months or years though their ultimate aims do not coincide. Alliances for limited objectives are well known. Certainly those who joined forces with Russia to defeat the Nazis may not be said to have made an alliance to spread the cause of Communism. An individual who makes contributions to feed hungry men does not become 'affiliated' with the Communist cause because those men are Communists. A different result is not necessarily indicated if aid is given to or received from a proscribed organization in order to win a legitimate objective in a domestic controversy."

Because of the legalism involved in the fact that the majority opinion did not consider the question of whether the Communist Party (now the Communist Political Association) advocates overthrow of the government by force and violence, its language necessarily implies the Party may or may not—although Murphy clearly ridiculed the government's so-called evidence of such advocacy.

Revealing what the decision calls "the broad sweep which was given the term" affiliation, is a quoted excerpt from the Attorney General's report. This excerpt cites Judge Sears as saying that the conclusion that Bridges was affiliated with the Communist Party "was strengthened by his consistently favoring nondescrimination against union men because of Communist membership; and by his excoriating 'Red-baiters,' as he called those who took an opposite view, which 'amounted to cooperation with the Communist Party in carrying out its program of penetration and boring from within.' "

Now let us see what the Supreme Court decision does with this hogwash: "But when we turn to the facts of this case," it says, after the Biddle quotation, "we have little more than a course of conduct which reveals cooperation with Communist groups for the attainment of wholly lawful objectives."

Pointing out that deportation "technically is not criminal punishment," the decision quotes the late Justice Brandeis as saying it may result in the loss "of all that makes life worth living." (On the basis that deportation proceedings are not a criminal trial, the whole history of deportation cases before this has been one of treating aliens as if they had no rights except that of a fair trial.) The decision goes on to say: "Freedom of speech and of press is accorded aliens residing in this country. So far as this record shows the literature published by Harry Bridges, the utterances made by him were entitled to that protection. They revealed a militant advocacy of the cause of trade unionism. But they did not teach or advocate or advise the subversive conduct condemned by the statute."

Eugene Karlin.

Then it quotes Dean Landis' famous lines: "Bridges' own statement of his political beliefs and disbeliefs is important. It was given not only without reserve but vigorously as dogma and faiths of which the man was proud and which represented in his mind the aims of his existence. It was a fighting apologia that refused to temper itself to the winds of caution. It was an avowal of sympathy with many of the objectives that the Communist Party at times has embraced, an expression of disbelief that the methods they wished to employ were as revolutionary as they generally seem, but it was unequivocal in its distrust of tactics other than those that are generally included within the concept of democratic methods. That Bridges' aims are energetically radical may be admitted, but the proof fails to establish that the methods he seeks to employ to realize them are other than those that the framework of democratic and constitutional government permits."

Thus we see that the Supreme Court does not accept Judge Sears' and Biddle's concept that if a union does not tolerate Red-baiting it means that its leader is a Communist. It rejects the concept that individuals or groups who work with Communists for specified objectives are necessarily affiliated with the Communist movement.

Bridges himself in commenting on the decision said that it vindicates the position of "the millions of union men and women, liberal and progressive-minded people in all classes of our society" who had extended "generous and courageous support" through the many years and phases of the deportation proceedings. He said, also, "It vindicates the program and policy of the labor union for which I speak as an officer. It was this union's policy that Attorney General Biddle attacked in the deportation proceedings, not me as an individual, and his order to deport meant in essence that union rights must depart from American life." He judged American citizenship as "a priceless possession," he concluded, and would apply for citizenship papers immediately.

Justice Murphy's concurring opinion is a beautiful, inspired document. "The record in this case," it begins, "will stand forever as a monument to man's intolerance of man." It condemns the "wire-tapping, searches and seizures without warrants," and the entire "concentrated and relentless crusade to deport an individual because he dared to exercise the freedom that belongs to him as a human being and that is guaranteed to him by the Constitution." He found the statute unconstitutional, saying that if it could be changed to deport Bridges, as the author of the amendment (Rep. Sam Hobbs) admitted, Congress could deport aliens for racial or religious background, or because they joined a union.

One of the greatest virtues of Justice Murphy's opinion is that it refuses to accept Mr. Biddle's hoary estimate of the Communist Party. It states flatly: "Proof that the Communist Party advocates the theoretical or ultimate overthrow of the government by force was demonstrated by resort to some rather ancient party documents, certain other general Communist literature and oral corroborating testimony of government witnesses. Not the slightest evidence was introduced to show that either Bridges or the Communist Party seriously and imminently threatens to uproot the government by force or violence."

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THE WARSAW CHANTICLEER

By CHAHVER-PAHVER (GERSHON EINBINDER)

Chahver-Pahver is the nom de plume *of the noted Yiddish writer, Gershon Einbinder. He first won acclaim for his children's stories, which are regarded as among the best in Yiddish literature. In recent years his novels and stories of adult life, permeated with a folk quality, have won him a wide reading public among the Jewish masses of this country. Mr. Einbinder is a member of the staff of the "Morning Freiheit," where much of his work has appeared. On the occasion of the twentieth anniversay of his literary activity, which is being celebrated Saturday evening, June 30, at the Pauline Edwards Theater (City College Auditorium), 23rd Street and Lexington Avenue, New York,* NEW MASSES *is publishing this fable by him. It has been adapted from the Yiddish by L. B. Lazarus.*

A NATIVE of Warsaw and one of the outstanding chanticleers of his city, he found himself one day transplanted to the Catskill Mountains. Truth to tell, he was not an immigrant by choice—it was Motel, a farmer in Rip Van Winkle's country, who brought him to America. Motel had been visiting his folks in his home town and, once having heard their rooster crow, could not bear to part from him. You see, Motel had a weakness for feathered singers who gave their all to their art. Somehow, the Catskill crowers were not up to the mark—Motel's mark, that is. It seemed their heart was not in their crow.

Not so the Polish rooster. When that bird opened his beak the golden beauty of his song was heard all over the town. He sang at the top of his lungs and the sweet, strong notes of his coloratura all but shattered the window panes in the most distant streets and lanes and winding alleys of old Warsaw.

The newcomer's arrival at Motel's poultry yard caused quite a sensation among its native residents. The hens, clucking noisily, crowded around him and watched him critically.

"His legs are petty thin," remarked a White Leghorn.

"And he looks like a snob," added a Rhode Island Red.

"A dirty foreigner!" sneered a Plymouth Rock. "A foreigner, a foreigner!" chimed in the others.

"Even so, that's no reason for making fun of a stranger," an old hen, with a cataract over her right eye, admonished them. "It isn't a bit nice."

To be sure, the rooster did not understand a word they were saying—it was all wasted on him. To him, whose ear was attuned to the Polish tongue, their talk was mere babbling. But he did make out that they were riding him. Hurt, he walked off with all the dignity he could muster and perched on a tree.

There he sat, his entire being a-quiver with an overwhelming longing for his native land, a longing so strong that tears sprang to his eyes. And as he sat there, his weary eyelids closed as if of themselves and he sank into slumber.

He could not tell afterwards how long he had slept. But when he opened his eyes he saw a streak of greenish-white light in the sky. That, of course, meant only one thing—dawn was breaking and, like the properly trained and conscientious rooster he was, he took it as a signal for a crow. And crow he did—with all his heart, and all his soul, and all his might, just like the old days back in Warsaw.

"Ku-ka-re-ku-u-u!" rolled through every nook and corner of the farm and echoed far and wide through the hills and valleys of the sleeping countryside —"Ku-ka-re-ku-u-u!"

And Motel, fit to be tied, wearing nothing but a nightshirt, rushed out of the house, cursing and cursing.

"What the devil is the matter with you?" he cried. "What's the idea? Here I just fall asleep after a day's hard work, and this damned Warsaw fool wakes me up with his hollering!"

The hens, running out of their coops and chicken houses, sided with their master. "Why this crowing all of a sudden?" they inquired indignantly. "Why won't he let us sleep?"

"I told you he was a dirty foreigner!" said the Plymouth Rock.

"He's a stranger here," the old hen with the cataract came to his defense. "Give him half a chance and he'll learn our American ways."

The erstwhile Warsaw champion was trembling all over. He was afraid they would peck off his magnificent comb—and what a terrible fix it would be to find oneself bald in the prime of one's life! He could not understand what the commotion was all about. He felt he had done his duty, having crowed his best, and all he was getting as a reward

F. D. R.

"UNHAPPY events abroad have retaught us two simple truths about the liberty of a democratic people. The first truth is that the liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic state itself. That, in its essence, is fascism—ownership of government by an individual, by a group, or by any other controlling private power.

"The second truth is that the liberty of a democracy is not safe if its business system does not provide employment and produce and distribute goods in such a way as to sustain an acceptable standard of living.

"Both lessons hit home.

"Among us today a concentration of private power without equal in history is growing.

"This concentration is seriously impairing the economic effectiveness of private enterprise as a way of providing employment for labor and capital and as a way of assuring a more equitable distribution of income and earnings among the people of the nation as a whole."—*From President Roosevelt's message to Congress, April 29, 1938.*

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"With my son's business instincts and you expect him to put his money in war bonds?"

was curses. Indeed, it was hard, very hard, alone and bewildered in a strange land. . . . For how could he have guessed that the light he saw was not the harbinger of a new day, but the Aurora Borealis, the iridescent play of colors that travels all the way from the North Pole?

As TIME passed and he learned to crow at the right hour, the hens still kept making fun of him. You see, his "Ku-ka-re-ku" might have been all right in the old country, but here in America no self-respecting rooster would condescend to sing anything but the 100 percent American "Cock-a-doodle-do." So they mimicked him, tormented and annoyed him. Yes, hard is the lot of an untitled foreigner in our fair land—no mistaking it, my dear friends. May kind fate spare you the experience.

Nor was this all. In addition to mocking and ridiculing him, none of the hens in the poultry yard would keep him company. They kept their distance and, as all men know, a rooster without a bevy of hens in his wake is practically no rooster at all.

A couple of years passed—bitter, slowly-dragging, exasperating years. He gradually learned the ways of American roosters. He could now crow with the best. True, there still remained more than a trace of a Polish accent in his diction but, somehow, it did not seem to matter much—his delivery and upper register were superb—there was no gainsaying it. The only thing that troubled him was that the hens still refused to come near him.

Meanwhile, the farmer's mother came from Warsaw to America. Knowing her son's fondness for poultry, she brought along all six of the chickens she owned. Naturally, you would think this would improve matters, wouldn't you? The rooster should have felt happy now that he no longer needed to be alone and had company that would understand and appreciate him. Alas and alack, it was not so. The six Polish hens left him cold. To everyone's surprise, he studiously avoided them.

This proved too much for the old hen, the one with the cataract over her right eye, and one fine morning she stopped him and asked without any preliminaries, as was her wont: "Young man, how long do you intend to keep gallivanting around all by yourself? It's not nice and, besides, what will people say? Come on, stop this business and get married. You'll be a much happier rooster if you do."

"Get married?" the rooster repeated gloomily. "To whom?"

"What do you mean 'to whom?'" The old hen was aroused. "How about the six young chickens the farmer's mother brought from Poland? They are your own people, they speak your language and besides, they're as good looking a lot as I've seen."

"But they are foreigners," the rooster protested, "foreigners—with un-American ideas, for all I know."

"Foreigners," the old hen mimicked him angrily. "Listen who's talking! I used to pity you when I saw you strolling around in the yard all by yourself, but I have no use for you any more, you stupid fool! Foreigners! One might think that you yourself came here on the *Mayflower* with the Pilgrim Fathers!"

Mad as the rooster was at the old hen, her words struck home and before long he began to see the error of his ways. He befriended the newcomers, took them behind the barn one by one, and wound up by taking all the six of them unto himself as wives of his bosom.

Time marched on. His wives presented him with large, white, Grade-A eggs, and hatched sturdy little chicks, male and female. With this happy turn of events, the former champion of Warsaw acquired a sunnier disposition and never grew tired of bragging about his offspring to anyone who would care to listen—how cute, how smart and how full of clever tricks they were. One of them, a little rooster with an extra high, antler-like comb, was his particular favorite. The youngster feared no one and would take on all comers his size and twice and three times his size as well.

"Just watch him jump!" the doting father would exclaim, aglow with joy. "Look, look, they're all afraid of him! Yes, say what you will, blood will tell! There's nothing like an American. Why, his comb alone is worth its weight in gold!"

And the old wise hen, with the cataract over her right eye, listening to the rooster's incessant bragging, would smile knowingly, and cackle and chuckle till tears threatened to dim the vision of her one remaining good eye.

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MATTER OF FACT . . . by LEWIS MERRILL

WHAT ABOUT YOUR JOB?

IN THE midst of New York's tumultuous and joyous welcome, General "Ike" Eisenhower said some pretty sober things about peace and jobs. But the prospects or 60,000,000 jobs are not bright at the moment and hat means the prospects for a lasting peace are not bright. Peace and jobs. Jobs and peace. They go together. You don't get one without the other.

Without underestimating the possible value of still discussing general economic policies to achieve the 60,000,000 jobs program, it is obvious that if the program is to have a chance, it is dependent on how we handle ourselves in the economic circumstances of today. Only by dealing with the living, concrete facts that are being produced in our current economic life will we be able to reach out to 60,000,000 jobs, to the Economic Bill of Rights. That's just to say that the future comes out of the present. And the present does not bode well.

It is now a generally accepted fact in governmental circles that by August 1945, there will be 5,000,000 unemployed in this country. Hundreds of thousands are becoming unemployed every week due to cutbacks on war contracts. In Detroit, several hundred thousand aircraft workers have been laid off. Out of the Norfolk-Portsmouth shipping center 100,000 residents have departed because of lay-offs. West Coast employment offices are screening 150,000 workers a month and in New York City it is estimated over 325,000 factory workers will be fired within three months. Even these facts, however, would not be too ominous if there were a planned effort to re-absorb the newly unemployed into industry. But there is no such plan. The only visible "plan" is the manifest intention of the major corporations to use the situation to drive down wage rates. If successful, this will seriously and drastically reduce the purchasing power of the mass of the people. Dr. George W. Taylor, chairman of the National War Labor Board, faithfully echoes this point of view. In a speech in Chicago he blandly asserts that unless wage rates are reduced, we are in danger of serious inflation. Meanwhile Theodore W. Kheel, executive secretary of the NWLB, in a speech to the Commerce and Industry Association of New York meticulously described the methods that the employers can use to reduce wages under existing NWLB regulations. And the employers are taking the advice of the NWLB. For example, in Buffalo workers fired from war plants, where they earned $1.14 per hour, are being rehired at sixty-three cents an hour. In Detroit, the average wage in aircraft was $1.20 per hour. As a result of downgrading incident to reducing the work force, these workers are now receiving eighty-nine cents an hour. In the New Jersey Federal Shipyards pay has been reduced from $1.14 to $1.00 per hour.

The initiation of a wage cutting drive concurrent with the presence of 5,000,000 unemployed does not mean gradual reabsorption into industry. It means we have entered a period of permanent mass unemployment!

THE Full Employment Bill, pending before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, could be helpful. But at best it would provide machinery to help insure full employment. There was plenty of machinery set up to deal with reconversion, but because there was no policy, the machinery is not producing results. The Full Employment Bill is not going to accomplish any miracles. And that fact might just as well be faced now when we can still do something about the problem.

In my opinion, the only way we can work toward the Economic Bill of Rights is to maintain the purchasing power of the workers. In April 1945—before the major cutbacks—a four percent drop in national income was recorded, most of it wage losses. National income statistics will likely show a continued decline between April and June 1945. Obviously, the increase in wage rates of at least twenty percent demanded by CIO President Philip Murray is absolutely essential in the national interest. Immediate passage of President Truman's proposals on unemployment insurance is also absolutely essential.

Neither the one nor the other is going to be secured without a real fight in every community in the land. If we lose on both these issues, we will lose all down the line.

The President of the United States sent an emergency message to the Congress on unemployment insurance weeks ago. But a bill has not even been prepared to embody his proposals into law. So there is no legislation on unemployment insurance even being considered by Congress, which early in July will recess until the fall. The failure of Congress to act means hungry days ahead for 5,000,000 workers. It means tougher days ahead for the farmers. It means critical times for the small businessmen and the middle class as a whole.

What about the twenty percent wage increase? It is merely a proposal. The *fact* is that the National War Labor Board is talking up the need for wage cuts. It is equally a *fact* that the workers, with and without official sanction, are going out on strike. And the Chicago *Tribune* crowd, hopefully working for a negotiated peace with Japan, is rubbing its hands with glee.

We voted for the Roosevelt program of a durable peace, full employment, the Economic Bill of Rights. These things can't just be voted into existence. They have to evolve out of what we do in maintaining purchasing power. I can't speak for labor. But as one leader of labor, I know we've got to make the fight of our life on these issues. If labor and its allies will fight, they will win. Wars are won by winning battles. The battle for unemployment insurance and a twenty percent wage increase are decisive in our war against poverty, against insecurity and against international conflicts. Since the election and especially since V-E Day, the progressive majority in the nation has retreated all down the line. The time has come to strike back with all the power we can muster if America is to be saved from turmoil and grim distress in the critical days ahead.

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READERS' FORUM

Answering F. J. Meyers

TO NEW MASSES: F. J. Meyers, in his letter published in the June 26 issue of NM, says "those who are so sharply attacking the theoretical position of Earl Browder seem to have no fundamental difference with him on a concrete program of action for America." Here, Mr. Meyers, is the fundamental difference: The key to your mistake, and of all those who support Browder's revisionism, is your remark "the bourgeoisie is still the decisive class in America." Let us apply the touchstone of Marxism-Leninism to that statement.

We find, on page 110 of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* the following: "We must not base our orientation on that strata of society which is no longer developing, even though they at present constitute the predominant force." Page 107 of the same book, "The dialectical method regards as important primarily not that which at the given moment seems to be durable and yet is already beginning to die away, but that which is arising and developing. . . ." Marx taught us that it is the proletariat which is arising and developing within the heart of capitalism. Lenin taught us that imperialism is *moribund* capitalism.

Meyers goes on: "Everyone agrees that the complete destruction of German Nazism and Japanese fascist militarism has been and remains the essential primary guide of political policy." Here again he slides into revision. *Whose* political policy? The political policy of the American working class, or the political policy of the American imperialists?

The American imperialists fought Nazi Germany, and are fighting Japan, *not* to destroy fascism, but *only* to save their power and markets from their rival German and Japanese imperialists.

The American working class fought Germany, and is fighting Japan, because it is anti-fascist, because fascism (as Dimitrov showed) is the open, brutal dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic section of monopoly capital, which has as its program annexationist war and complete annihilation of all democrats, trade unions, Negroes and Jews.

Hence, only the working class can be a *consistent* fighter for democracy.

Hence, the revisionist opposition to organized labor being represented in the President's cabinet struck not only at the backbone of the war effort but also at the root of the battle to win the peace.

Hence, "progressive capitalists" like the Republican, Senator Ball, are already trying to sabotage the Teheran and Yalta perspectives by introducing bills to emasculate the Wagner Act. Should that kind of bill pass, the only class that is capable of leading an unyielding fight for Teheran and Yalta will be weakened.

True there is something new in the world. What is it? It is a definite possibility that Teheran, Yalta, San Francisco, Bretton Woods, 60,000,000 jobs, etc., can be achieved. The four main factors that created that possibility can also turn it into a certainty. What are they?

1. The defeat of Nazi Germany.

2. The entry of the American trade union movement, 14,000,000 strong, into the political arena. It is continuing to strengthen its ties with the other classes, even with those few individuals within the capitalist class who realize that the welfare of the nation is bound up with the welfare of labor. We all agree that socialism in our country today is *not* the issue, and that under the fighting leadership of the American working class, uniting itself with all segments of patriotic Americans, some wavering elements in the bourgeoisie *can* be successfully pushed onto the Teheran and Yalta path.

3. The emergence of the Soviet Union from the war as one of the strongest countries in the world.

4. The democratic forces in England and China, under the leadership of their respective working classes.

Only by steering our course by the compass of living Marxism-Leninism can we eventually accomplish the task that history assigns us. The American working class, and its vanguard, the American Communists, have today, in a very real sense, "a rendezvous with destiny."

New York City. SARA S.

Errors of Overstress

TO NEW MASSES: In my previous letter [NEW MASSES, June 12], written before the appearance of the CPA Board Resolution of June 2, I attempted to harmonize to some extent the views of Browder with those of Foster and Duclos. This might have appeared quixotic, but now the resolution indicates a programmatic approach similar, with some extension and tightening up which would probably have occurred anyway, to that which the CPA was already utilizing. No one can disagree with the prospectus of immediate action, as Anna Rochester points out, except that there is a self-contradiction in theorizing a sharp class conflict and working for "the broadest national coalition of all anti-fascist and democratic forces." So much for the program.

Now, if Marxism is a science, how can the two theories of class struggle be reconciled?

It is the position of the CPA Board that Marxism supports the theory of the permanent nature of finance capital, *i.e.*, in sharp conflict with the working class. Actually, the Marxian dialectic does not admit the permanency of any state of affairs in a dynamic world. That very small but growing kernel of "absolute" truth is that which we recognize as being true under the most extreme conditions and for the longest time in the practical conception of man. All other truths are "relative" truths, the validity of which depend on objective material mutations. The nature of capitalism, as considered today, is a relative, and not an absolute truth. That this is not mere transcendentalism may be demonstrated if we carry out the logic to a further degree. Consider that the whole world has become socialist excepting—say South America or the United States. Would the capitalist class then dream of violently opposing the workers there? No, of course not. It would be conciliatory almost to the point of abdication. In other words, it would have undergone a tremendous change in its nature.

Thus, it would not be a revision of Marxism to take a view that the nature of finance capital could change under certain circumstances.

I assume that Browder believes that, through the defeat of the major force of concentrated fascism and the establishment of labor-progressive governments from Asia west to the Atlantic, the balance of world forces has finally shifted in favor of the working classes. This is a very delicate balance. To utilize it for durable peaceful progress depends on the fulfillment of many preconditions. While there is some chance of this, we should try, he says. If it becomes obvious that the new relationship of world forces will not as yet prove decisive in changing the nature of monopoly capital—then we must gird ourselves for the coming struggle for power.

What Browder did was to point out the existence of certain possibilities. His approach was definitely Marxian. The margin of error, if there is one, may be found only in over-stressing these possibilities. Time will determine whether the present reactionary trend is a temporary aberration or will deepen.

Therefore, with some meeting of the minds on these questions, I see no reason why the CPA must admit a great theoretical error or isolate its foremost spokesman. Further, we should fully acknowledge the role of Foster and Duclos in making us more alert to the odds against the progressive forces.

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I w[illegible] to emphasize that these views are individual and not organizational.

CARL VON DER LANCKEN.
Educational Director, Chicago Region,
United Shoe Workers, CIO.

NM Should Be Humble

TO NEW MASSES: I was glad to see the editorial "NM Evaluates Its Course." I was a little disturbed by the tone of the self-criticism as I expected NM to be more humble after such profound mistakes. Whether "NEW MASSES is a Marxist magazine" and back "on the highroad again" will be determined by your future issues. I know you try to be a Marxist magazine. You should say so.

The opinions of readers (like Philip Pollack) should be given *real* consideration and not polite dismissal at all times.

I think that, along with *Political Affairs* and *Science and Society*, NM is one of America's best magazines. My criticism is made with the hope of making it better.

I have always been against the dissolving of the YCL. When the war broke out I and many other young people found a greater-than-ever need for Marxist guidance in our understanding of life-problems. I personally believed a militant anti-fascist youth organization was needed. One week after I joined the YCL they dissolved it and formed what I consider an honest, liberal, political and social club with no Marxist educational program. It was not what I needed to meet the problems of these decisive days.

One last remark—I think NEW MASSES and the *Daily Worker* have too much respect for the *PM* type of writing style. With little time to read, I want as much content as possible in my reading. I find that the copying of the *PM* or "literary" style dulls the edge of our weapons. I hope you understand what I mean. MICHAEL BLOOM.
New York City.

Santayana Again

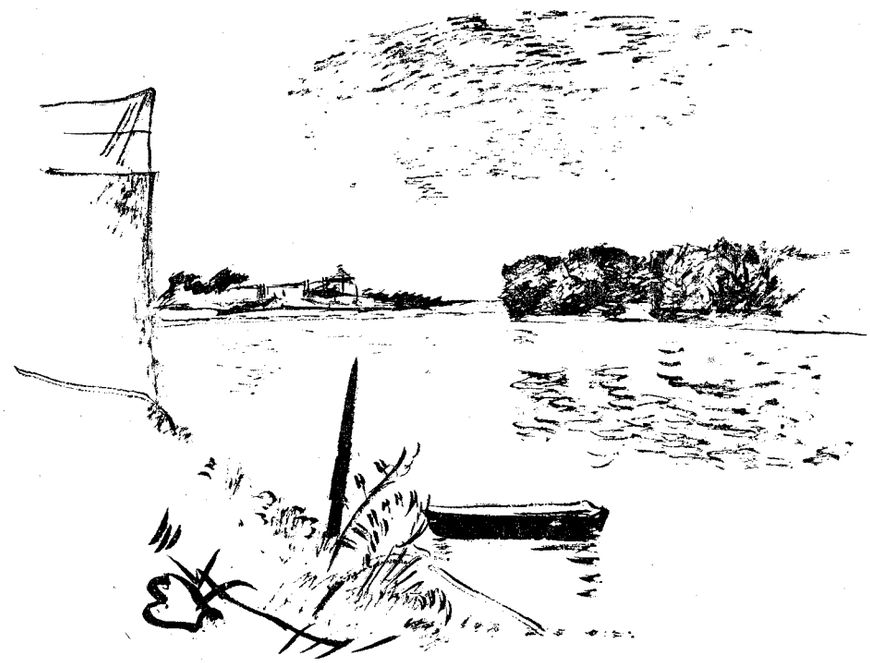
TO NEW MASSES: It is typical of Joel Bradford's superficial comments on George Santayana that he should cite a brief newspaper interview, from the New York *Times*, as settling "forever" in the affirmative the debate as to whether Santayana is a fascist. The remarks attributed to Mr. Santayana had a characteristically paradoxical quality about them and, if true, are no more sufficient to condemn him as a fascist than were George Bernard Shaw's wild statements in praise of Mussolini a number of years ago. And it is rather careless of Bradford to give no indication that in the same interview to which he refers Santayana said, to quote verbatim, that "personally he had no feeling, of either opposition or approval, of Communism or fascism."

In Santayana's recently published *The Middle Span*, one of the most mellow and enjoyable books of the season, Mr. Bradford, as was to be expected, finds all sorts of dangerous ideas that to his mind show Santayana to be a fascist. In answer I could repeat almost everything that I said last spring in the pages of NEW MASSES regarding Bradford's attack on Santayana's *Persons and Places*. But this would be a tedious procedure and so I want mainly to go on record as vigorously dissenting to the repeated charge that George Santayana is a genteel fascist. I do not for a moment deny that there are some reactionary currents in his thought, but on the whole his philosophy has had a liberating influence.

Santayana's great and varied work has entered enduringly into our American culture and sometimes reveals itself in unexpected ways. For example, last November at the Madison Square Garden meeting of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, an eloquent climax in the excellent speech by Henry J. Kaiser, well-known ship manufacturer, was an appropriate quotation from George Santayana. If really consistent, Mr. Bradford and the editors of NEW MASSES should have rebuked Mr. Kaiser for quoting a "fascist" at a meeting dedicated to American-Soviet cooperation and a United Nations victory over Nazi Germany. This point well demonstrates that the problem of Santayana is exceedingly complex and that it is not fair to damn a writer as a fascist on the basis of a few quotations, interpreted with hostile intent and taken primarily from two volumes out of a total of about thirty.

I am in hearty accord with much of what Joel Bradford writes in the NEW MASSES. But somehow he got off on the wrong foot regarding Santayana, perhaps because he became enamoured of a clever phrase, "genteel fascist." In any case, to my fellow-philosopher Bradford I extend the truly humanist sentiment which, of course, has exceptions, that he so maliciously castigates Santayana for expressing: "In each person I catch the fleeting suggestion of something beautiful, and swear eternal friendship with that."

CORLISS LAMONT.
New York City.



Pen and ink sketch by Nicolai Cikovsky.

San Francisco Backstage

TO NEW MASSES: The other night I sat in a room upstairs over a night club, on a wooden chair, and listened to Del Vayo, Spanish Socialist leader, speak to a small group of patriotic Spanish working people. I couldn't understand what he was saying. But I could understand the faith those people had in him, the respect and attention they paid to his speech as he gave them word of the work being carried on for the liberation of Spain and emphasized the need for unity. He expressed gratitude for the guidance and assistance of such countries as the Soviet Union and extended hope to these simple people an ocean and a continent away from their homes, fearful of the future for their country.

I went from that meeting to a cocktail lounge with two newspaper correspondent friends, in San Francisco for the conference. One had been back in the United States a week from covering the European war. I listened to him tell of a story he could not get printed about black market rerouting of American and British tanks to Germany. And of the boastful conversations of a certain oil man, bragging about using his money to finance Franco's government.

At a time when vigilance is needed so desperately, how can I walk among twenty members of the nationwide press and find only one man who knows NEW MASSES—a West Coast representative of your staff!

HELEN MICHAELS.
San Francisco, Cal.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

The Plan and the Reality

THE battle for a world security organization has shifted from San Francisco to Washington. There the debate on ratification is already under way and speedy approval by the Senate is of critical importance. The United Nations Charter is an admirable document. Practically every controversial issue at UNCIO was won by the forces of unity and security. The Yalta principle of unanimity among the five leading powers triumphed after seven weeks of debate. The Security Council has been given the necessary authority to act and to act quickly against any threat to the peace of the world. For this it has been provided with the necessary authorization to negotiate military agreements with those nations whose armed forces may be called upon.

The Assembly is authorized to take up any subject consonant with the purposes of the organization. Attached to it is the Social and Economic Council charged with the basic tasks of raising standards of living, promoting full employment, and other social and economic objectives.

A new World Court, subject to the authority of the Security Council, has been voted. Franco Spain has been specifically excluded by an interpretive resolution to which all fifty nations at San Francisco adhered. The one disappointing chapter in the charter concerns trusteeships over dependent peoples, a subject not covered in the original Dumbarton Oaks plan. Thoroughly emasculated by the most reactionary imperialist interests at San Francisco, the present trusteeship provisions merely postpone to another occasion and to a future date the fundamental need for freeing the 750,000,000 people now held in colonial bondage.

A generally good charter does not mean, however, that we can afford to sit back and assume that simply because it reads well the problems of the world have been solved. On the contrary the fine words of the charter will remain meaningless unless translated into the reality of deeds. We have only to look back a few weeks to the ways in which Chapultepec and Yalta were violated by reaction to realize the vast difference between good words and correct action.

The Anti-Soviet Rumble

THERE are powerful anti-Soviet groups in this country trying to create what they call "a groundswell" of public agitation to stop the war against Japan. Arguing that if Japan is defeated the Soviet Union will emerge as the strongest power in the Far East these people advocate a negotiated settlement with Tokyo whereby the Japanese "aristocracy" and business leaders may re-establish a strong imperial Japan.

We find grouped together in this campaign the usual crowd of Red-baiters and pro-fascists. There are the Hearst - McCormick - Patterson - Scripps - Howard newspapers; the *New Leader* Social Democrats and the Norman Thomas camarilla; the Fellowship for Reconciliation, strong elements in the American Friends Service Committee, and the League for Peace and Freedom; and, of course, Senator Taft and his cronies.

Their argument that a defeated Japan would leave a political and economic vacuum in the Far East which would be quickly filled by the Soviet Union is rather strange in view of the fact that these persons also oppose a policy which would unify China and make her a strong postwar nation. Many of them also constitute the bitterest opponents of colonial freedom. They deliberately attempt to prevent the formation of independent and democratic nations in the Far East, and they do everything possible to prevent the development of coalition warfare against Japan. If China can be kept disunited and weak, if the exploitation of colonies can be maintained, and if the war against Japan can be stopped and a fascist government maintained there, then, they argue, it may be possible to form a military and economic bloc against the eastern borders of the Soviet Union. These are influences that no doubt also find expression in official Washington quarters and impede the unfolding of an intelligent and forward-looking policy for the Pacific.

Charles Nakata.

Cartel Victory

DU PONT has won a round in court over the government's charges that the company had been engaged in practices which fixed prices and restricted competition. Here again the layman, if he attempts any intelligent pursuit of the case, finds himself enmeshed in a web of technicalities. And it is on technicalities that the du Pont lawyers managed their victory. The government contended that du Pont was engaged in an international conspiracy to monopolize production, assign sales territory throughout the world and set the cost of acrylic (plastic) products used widely in industry and especially vital in the making of airplanes. The case has a long history, and at one point required the intervention of President Roosevelt to bring it to court after the Department of Justice had been pressured by the Army and Navy practically to forget about it. The fact is that the American war effort suffered as a result of du Pont's restrictive methods. If our production of planes leaped ahead at a moment of dire necessity it was not with du Pont's help but despite it.

The foreign entanglements of this particular case are fantastic, yet they follow a classical pattern. Named along with du Pont as co-conspirators, though not indicted, were guess who? —I. G. Farben of Germany and Imperial Chemicals of Great Britain. These two cartels have been linked over the years to du Pont either by outright agreements or by friendly un-

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dings. They have been the trinity pearheaded the imperialism of the es, the catastrophe of Munich, and within their own countries they have supported every blackguard political group that sought to drown the world in blood and tears. All this was not at issue in the American courtroom. Yet it is the sole issue. For at almost the same moment when Senator Kilgore reports that German industrialists last August laid plans for the rearming of Germany and the financing of the Nazi underground after the Wehrmacht's defeat, the du Ponts and their brethren everywhere are planning to renew their old ties with the German trusts—if ever they were in actual fact broken. In his recent report to the President, Justice Jackson indicated that German industrialist leaders would be punished along with the other war criminals. All we can say is that it will be limited justice indeed if their American counterparts are not brought to book for having played the same game.

The AP Decision

ANOTHER round has been won in the long battle to make the Associated Press obey the anti-trust laws. The Supreme Court has outlawed those provisions in the AP by-laws under which a member newspaper (the AP is organized as a cooperative) can veto a competitor's application for membership. The case grew out of the unsuccessful efforts of Marshall Field to secure an AP franchise for his Chicago *Sun*.

The majority opinion by Justice Hugo Black, upholding a decision of the US District Court for Southern New York, represents a partial victory for freedom of the press and for the struggle to curb monopolistic evils. There is grave doubt, however, whether the victory is more substance than shadow. The decree issued by the lower court holds that the AP can adopt new or amended by-laws "which will restrict admission," provided that AP members shall not have power to veto an application of a competitor in the same city and "field" (morning, evening or Sunday), and provided that the competitive effect of the admission of an applicant shall not be taken into consideration. It is obvious that under this decree the AP could achieve the same effect under a different guise since influential members will be able to bar competitors simply by having their friends in the AP wield the axe. It is unfortunate that the Supreme Court, despite the government's plea that this loophole be closed, declined to strengthen the decree. Thus, where monopolistic powers are involved, even a liberal Supreme Court is inclined to move over-timidly.

Hearst's "Big Lie"

THE June 15 issue of the New York *Daily Mirror*, owned by William Randolph Hearst, publishes an editorial entitled "The New 'Copperheads.'" It starts with a definition: "The Copperhead during the Civil War was a Northerner who sympathized with and aided the enemy." The editorial then discusses our contemporary Copperheads. Among these it does not include those writers in the Hearst press who, whether they bewail from Madrid the smashup of the "dam against Communism," Nazi Germany, or use the Hitler big lie technique in Los Angeles, or manufacture Red scares in Washington and New York, provide sympathy for and aid to the enemy.

The "Copperheads" that this Copperhead newspaper is concerned with are the American Communists and NEW MASSES. Specifically, the *Mirror* repeats the fabrications which appeared in the June 10 issue of Los Angeles *Examiner* and other Hearst papers concerning statements made at a Hollywood meeting under NM auspices. In last week's NM, Ruth McKenney, one of those libeled by Hearst, told the story of this frameup and revealed that not a single statement put into the mouths of various editors and contributing editors of NEW MASSES bore the slightest resemblance to what they or anyone else said at the meeting. This treason to America is exclusively a Hearst product. As we pointed out last week, its purpose extends far beyond the smearing of NM writers or the Communists. This is a made-in-Germany-and-Japan assault on the movie industry and on the rights of all Americans. And the fact that the *Mirror* editorial, like an earlier Westbrook Pegler blast, quotes approvingly a column by Eleanor Roosevelt based on misinformation concerning American Communist policy, underlines how dangerous it is for liberals to yield even an inch to the ideologists of American Nazism.

Threat to the Breadbasket

WHILE the nation is virtually meatless and the fate of the OPA hangs in the balance, Herbert Hoover has proposed a meat control program to Congress designed to emasculate the OPA. Hoover insists that the meat shortage and the black market are due entirely to bad organization of the OPA and the rest of the food agencies. He proposes, in his own words, an "administrative revolution," which sounds suspiciously like a desire to upset the entire price control system.

Mr. Hoover's proposals appear on the surface, however, somewhat less radical. He would take the entire meat and fats sector of food from the OPA and place it under the full control of the Secretary of Agriculture. This sounds a bit like President Truman's decision to place the War Food Administration under the control of the new Secretary of Agriculture, a proposal that may help relieve the meat shortage. But the substance of Hoover's plan is not centralized control by government organs; it is rather the delegation of authority and "policing" of the food industry, including setting of prices, to new national war committees composed of people with the "know-how," namely packers, wholesalers, commission merchants and livestock dealers who very likely possess the know-how concerning the black market operations as well. Hoover proposes that subsidies hereafter be eliminated and that higher and flexible ceilings be set up by these committees. He assures us that his plan would give the people meat at prices lower than the black market. How much lower he does not indicate, but since he speaks of the prevailing black market "prices up to 100 percent above the supposed ceiling prices," we can well presume that he thinks along the same lines as those who have been organizing the black market directly or indirectly.

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Hoover really wants to eliminate the entire OPA as an effective price control agency and replace the present ceiling prices with reduced black market price levels under the control of the packers and wholesalers.

More on the CPA

THE American Communists are moving ahead toward that clarification of their theory and practice which should help revitalize their work and strengthen the whole labor and progressive movement. Last week the National Committee of the Communist Political Association held a three-day meeting and adopted a number of important decisions. Among them were: by a fifty-three to one vote (with Earl Browder casting the sole negative ballot) it approved the main line of the draft resolution recently adopted by the CPA National Board on "The Present Situation and the Next Tasks," and set up an editorial committee to incorporate amendments proposed by the members of the National Committee and the rank and file CPA membership; it concluded that "the responsibility for the opportunist errors and mistakes of the CPA" rests first of all on Earl Browder, while "full responsibility must also be shared by the entire national leadership and particularly by the National Board," with the exception of William Z. Foster; it decided to convene a special convention in New York City, July 26, 27 and 28, at which the poli be reviewed and given final for the national leadership will be refi and strengthened; it elected a secre tariat of three, William Z. Foster, Eu gene Dennis, and John Williamson with authority to act between meeting of the National Board and to serve a spokesman for the CPA.

As a Marxist publication devoted t the cause of progress and democracy NEW MASSES last week began evalu ation of its own course and its own mistakes in the recent period. We shal have more to say in future issues. Anc we especially want our readers to speak up on the vital questions involved.

Get Out Your Pen

- What the citizen with pen and/or petition can do has been demonstrated again in the passage by large majorities in both houses of the RECIPROCAL TRADES ACT without amendments.
- Another excellent campaign from all sections of society has put the BRETTON WOODS measure safely through the House. Chief danger lies in forgetting that it still has many enemies in the Senate. See this measure through with reminders to your Senators that your eye is right on them in this matter.
- Once more, by a comfortable margin HR-7, the Marcantonio ANTI-POLL TAX BILL, has been passed by the House. Once more the thwarters of the popular will are threatening to talk it to death in the Senate. Let your Senators know how you feel about the poll tax and filibusters, and insist on cloture.
- The life of FEPC hangs by a thread. With their eyes on the June 30 expiration of this war agency, which was cheated of its appropriations in the House, the same old enemies are trying desperate parliamentary maneuvers to prevent the Senate's repairing the damage. Popular indignation has already achieved sufficient pressure that the Senate Appropriations Committee has approved restoration of the funds for FEPC in the War Agencies Bill with fair assurance that once on the floor the Senate will pass it. A two-thirds vote would suspend the rules. Senator McKellar, chairman of the committee, is holding things up until two Republicans and Tom Connally can get back to vote against it. A wire demanding immediate release of the bill and support from your Senators will help. And keep up the campaign on the House for a permanent FEPC!
- So far nothing has appeared in the way of a bill to implement President Truman's call for emergency provisions for UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION of twenty-five dollars for twenty-six weeks which are, in the President's words, "essential for the orderly reconversion of our wartime economy." Write your Congressman that you want such a bill written and introduced immediately, with provisions extended to federal employes, maritime workers and others not now insured. You can expedite matters by getting petitions to this effect from the White Collar Center (UOPWA-CIO), 30 East 29th St., N. Y., 16. We already face wholesale cutbacks, and this provision is the minimum preliminary to solving reconversion problems.

Italy and the AMG

AS ITALY'S new first minister Ferruccio Parri comes with high recommendation from the National Liberation Committee of the North. Parri has been head of the northern resistance movement's military commission and has had a good record over the years as an anti-fascist. With him in the leadership of the new cabinet is Socialist Pietro Nenni as vice-premier; Communist Palmiro Togliatti as minister of justice; and Christian Democrat Alcide de Gasperi, who retains the foreign ministry post which he headed under Bonomi. Nenni's special job will be to prepare for the election of a constituent assembly while Togliatti will seek to hasten the purge and trial of fascists.

Parri's choice was made primarily by the liberation forces and undoubtedly strengthens their position. It came after a prolonged political crisis with the Americans and British exerting pressure to keep Nenni from the premiership. Parri, then, is a compromise selection. The American and British role during the six weeks in which the cabinet was being formed caused widespread dismay. And it is not for nothing that several Italian political leaders are beginning to insist that the Allies cease their intervention and leave the country. On the other hand backward and pro-fascist elements demand that the British and Americans stay on forever to halt the nation's leftward drive and to quell the emergence of genuinely democratic institutions. A few days ago Togliatti was compelled to note that the Allies have yet to implement their pledge to free the country of fascists in the state hierarchy and to allow Italians to express their own wishes regarding internal structure. The convulsions and

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The London "Daily Worker" presents Lord Beaverbrook with a reminder.

chaos that now characterize Italy will hardly be eliminated so long as the AMG is there and British and American representatives hold a veto power over Italian sovereignty. Foremost on the Italian agenda is the necessity of a general election to establish a constituent assembly. But before that takes place the country's future must be determined by the liberation committees without interference from either Washington or London.

Belgian Reaction

THERE is no doubt that Leopold's decision to re-enthrone himself in Belgium was based on reactionary and fascist support. Whether he has friends abroad who are helping to pave the way for his return remains to be seen, but within Belgium itself the big financiers would like nothing better than a repetition of last November's upheaval in order to smash once and for all the democratic resistance movement and the reforms which it demands.

The monarchy is not at issue. The Belgian cabinet has been operating under a regent, Prince Charles, who is Leopold's brother. Leopold, however, *is* an issue, for around him are rallied the collaborators representing the old Munich Europe, as well as those who bear the guilt of Belgium's sudden capitulation to the Nazis in May 1940. Leopold's largest support now comes from the Catholic Party and its delegation in parliament. Should Leopold attempt to form a new cabinet to replace that of Socialist premier, Achille Van Acker, who along with his colleagues resigned in protest against Leopold's return, then it is certain not to endure for more than a few weeks. It would be an introduction to chaos with Parliament dissolved and a host of economic and political matters left in dangerous suspension. So deep and widespread is the hatred of a king who was in collusion with the enemy, that even the Catholic monarchists must perforce be cautious. They have begun to woo non-monarchist factions with the hope that when a new cabinet is organized it will not look like a unilateral and totally reactionary job. But the front of liberals, Socialists, Communists and trade unionists, probably speaking for most of the population, makes it amply clear that Leopold will run into a heap of trouble should be step over the frontier from Salzburg. The big question is, what would American and British military commanders do? The British have a particularly unsavory record ever since they backed the notorious Pierlot government. Perhaps if London and Washington had advised Leopold to join the ex-monarch's club permanently he might have been less eager to resume his trade.

Be Frank, Mr. Lerner

IN *PM* of June 22 Max Lerner writes an editorial on the conclusion of the trial of the Polish conspirators. It is a good editorial; that is, it fully supports the verdict. And it characterizes the anti-Soviet activities of these agents of the London emigres as "no longer political opposition," but "terrorism and war."

The editorial also states that one question in the trial "has been resolved only by default": the moral question of whether the Russians had invited these Poles to negotiate and then treacherously arrested them. "My own position was," Mr. Lerner writes, "that if such invitation had been extended, the Russians had played hob with political ethics. On the fact itself I deferred judgment until the trial was held." He now concludes, however, that the London charges of treachery "were as baseless" as the others.

All this sounds very good except for one small matter: did Mr. Lerner in fact defer judgment on the charges of the anti-Soviet Poles? Let us turn to *PM* of May 7, which published as its leading editorial a radio address by Max Lerner on a nationwide hookup. In this speech he stated: "It is hard to defend what the Russians have done. Presumably the Polish leaders were invited by the Russians to talk things over. . . . They should have been given diplomatic immunity." Elsewhere in the same speech he said: "Even if we assume that some of the arrested Polish leaders are guilty of hostility to the Russians—and no doubt some of them are—it is still true that the Russians used the Yalta agreement for luring them into a trap." And he justified the action of Stettinius and Eden in breaking off all further negotiations on a Polish settlement.

It is evident that Max Lerner's editorial of June 22 poses a moral question of its own. It is not the first time that, after having in his own phrase, "baited the trap for himself," he pretends it is someone else who has been caught.

Victory on Okinawa

SEVEN American Infantry and Marine divisions constituting the Tenth Army have won Okinawa in a matter of eighty-two days. The ground forces of both contending sides were numerically pretty well matched (probably about 100,000 on each side). The Japanese had enormous advantages in terrain and positions—ridges, caves, escarpments, and so forth. We had overwhelming naval and air superiority. The losses stack up as follows

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"The Novelist," oil by Benjamin Kopman.

(in round figures): the enemy lost 102,000 killed and eight thousand captured (the captives are still coming in); we lost about 12,000 killed and missing and 35,000 wounded (Army and Navy combined). The ratio is better than 2-1 in our favor and we were the attackers against some of the most difficult positions in the world. It is reported that we spent about one ton of shells and bombs per enemy killed. This is not a high average. It means that our fighters had to do plenty of digging out and burning out with hand grenade, bayonet and flame-thrower.

The campaign on Okinawa cost more and lasted longer than those on Iwo and Saipan, but the importance of Okinawa is greater because it is closer to Japan. It threatens Formosa and the eastern bulge of China, it is the central keystone of the island arch which covered the inner seas forming the communication lines of Japan with China. With Luzon it also forms a pincers aimed at the central Japanese positions in China.

From Okinawa our bombers will be able to carry to Japan twice the bomb load they can carry from Saipan. From Okinawa our fighter-bombers can reach Kyushu, Formosa and Shanghai, our medium bombers can reach Canton, Changteh, Tsinan, Korea and Tokyo, while our Superforts can reach any enemy objective from the Mekong River, to the borders of Outer Mongolia, to the Amur (except for the northern part of Manchuria) and to Karafuto (Japanese half of Sakhalin).

It has been reported that during the next ten weeks of the typhoon season no large scale invasions can be expected. However, the typhoon season will not stop the bombing of Japan because our weather stations in the Marianas, where most typhoons originate, will give us the a movement of the storms and be able to strike "between them. can imagine the effect of an incendia raid on Japan made an hour or two b fore a 100-mile-an-hour hurrica strikes!

General Arnold predicts that wh Japan will experience from the air du ing the next year will make the a war against Germany look like a "amateur performance." This we b lieve is in the cards for reasons o military commentator, Colonel T gave two or three weeks ago. He i dicated that our "tools" in the Far Ea are more powerful than those we us in Europe, Japan has a smaller surfa than Europe, its anti-aircraft defen is weaker than that of Germany an Japanese industry is less able to go ur derground because of the terrain an the lack of millions of slave laborers.

Here and There

CONGRATULATIONS to the *Dail Worker* for its journalisticall single-handed campaign against the sal of nearly 600 Nazi films by the Alie Property Custodian, forcing the can cellation of the announced auction. Bu there is still work to be done. Nazi film are being shown in Yorkville, Nev York's German colony, where suc propaganda was a big factor in stimu lating Bund activity.

• Labor Party leader Harold Laski ha to resort to a libel suit to counter th unprincipled lies and slanders being use by his Tory opponents. One of th latest and worst examples in this coun try of the traditional reactionary tactic is the Hearst smear of Ruth McKenne and Bruce Minton. In the words o the epigram, "Nothing is viler than en trenched 'decency.'"

• One reactionary who found slande costly was the German-American pub lisher Victor F. Ridder, who wa obliged to pay out $50,000 for attempt ing to smear the German educato Frederick Wilhelm Forster.

• They couldn't take it with them! Included with the Austrian and Ba varian state treasures cached by the Nazis and recently discovered by Amer ican troops was a vast loot of wedding rings, watches and other jewelry stripped from their victims.

• We welcome the establishment of a Russian Institute at Columbia Univer sity. American scholarship has neglected this vital field of study too long.

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KOESTLER AND COLONEL BLIMP

y ISIDOR SCHNEIDER

'T IS clearly intimated in Koestler's books that he underwent a psycho- analysis and was rid of a compul- on to the Left. But, by the same testi- ony and by his own diagnosis of the telligentsia, he remains a neurotic; s compulsion has merely taken the pposite direction.

The present neurosis is not of the ducing sort. Koestler's latest photo- raph, like those of his ideological ilk see portraits of W. H. Chamberlin, ugene Lyons, *et al.*) shows that the ifferer thrives on it. Flesh has gathered n Koestler's jowls, and fat on his prose. ut the adipose tissue is densest on his nscience. Seldom have I seen dis- sters to one's alleged cause described ith such jovial resignation. Civilization drying off the earth, says Koestler; t us look to our oases; and his pre- rred oasis is the garden cultivated by olonel Blimp.

But the Koestler attack cannot be ismissed merely with irony. We must ecognize that Koestler speaks with the est renegade authority, since he was nce a Communist, fought in Spain and as in a concentration camp. Readers ho do not know that these credentials ave been invalidated by Koestler's sub- equent actions are inevitably impressed.

We must recognize, further, that oestler is the most skillful writer the enegades have. It is true that his smooth nd gaudy writing is not good by abso- ute standards, and particularly by the tandards of our period, which favor he "stripped" and the "stark." But ourgeois criticism, grateful for favors lone, is willing to put such criteria aside. Obviously the Koestler message can go further on the prestige of a "master."

oestler's essential service to reaction help put over the Hearst "com- azi" trick in the higher intellectual ets. He has become the Benjamin asseres of the New York *Times*. works chiefly through erudite meta- rs so impressively remote, and at same time so spiced, that the reader f overawed and half titillated into ance.

h an erudite metaphor, a mixture of anthropological and biological non- sense, is the very core of *Darkness at Noon*, Koestler's fictional "explanation" of the Moscow trials. His hero, Ruba- shov, offered as a composite of some of the confessing defendants, meditates on the nature of the new Soviet man evolved from the Revolution. In recog- nitions that recur like a *leitmotif*, Rubashov likens him to the fierce car- nivorous Neanderthal men evolved from the gentle, herbivorous apes whose serene, pre-human civilization he pro- ceeded to smash.

Thus through the Neanderthaler brute image Soviet man is presented as already half Nazi. Koestler finishes off from straight fascist models. One ex- ample, among scores: Koestler's Soviet man makes a sneering and sweeping rejection of Tolstoy. Koestler knows, of course, that Tolstoy is the most popular and revered writer in the USSR; that the first definitive collected edition of Tolstoy's work was published there; and that Tolstoy museums are Soviet national shrines. But the lie helps Koestler to equate the Soviet man, by implication, with the Nazi who pulls his gun when he hears the word "cul- ture."

Koestler, for Rubashov, accepts the "Neanderthaler" as the species of the future, in a rationalization of the same order as the Lindbergian ducking into the "wave of the future." His Rubashov decides that to stand, even if only in his mind, against the Neanderthaler was a sin. Therefore, though objectively innocent, he considers himself subjec- tively guilty, confesses and awaits serenely the executioner's bullet that will complete his sacrifice to the Revo- lution.

Considered against the background of 1940 when the book was being writ- ten and when, in their speculations, sophisticates considered the world as good as divided between Germany and the Soviet Union, this submission sym- bolizes Koestler's submission. The course of the war, however, reassured Koestler that the British Empire would again "muddle through." In his two latest books he refurbishes Colonel Blimp as antipode to the "communazi." The ideological scenario for the recent British movie in which that personifica- tion of the Empire was strenuously hu- manized might have come straight from Koestler.

In the novel, *Arrival and Departure*, the "communazi" image is projected on the psychological plane. Communist and Nazi fuse into symbolic unity as neu- rotic patients of the same psychoanalyst. The only figure, beside the psycho- analyst, to emerge creditably is the kindly, serene, British consular official, a phase of the Koestler rehabilitation of Colonel Blimp.

BLIMP is the real hero of Koestler's latest book, a collection of recent essays reprinted from the New York *Times Magazine* and other periodicals.* Here Koestler projects the "commu- nazi" in a third incarnation as Com- missar. As admitted in a footnote, this new phase is acceptance of the Trotsky- ite Burnham's analysis of the "inevi- table managerial state" which Koestler would re-christen the Commissar state. Blimp comes in as the saving figure in the transition period. It is through him that the transition is to be made gradual and easy and Koestler's cultural values are to be preserved.

What I have written above is the clearest reduction to sense I have been able to make of the book's two chief sets of ideas that grind upon each other like poorly fitting gears. Obsessed by the inevitable "Commissar state," Koestler has two solutions, an immediate and an ultimate one. The immediate one is to maintain a European balance of power weighted against the Soviet Union. Stripped of verbiage, Koestler's thesis is an appeal for a continuing British im- perialist role in Europe and the saddling of a supporting imperialist role on America, the British position being un- tenable without it. Thus, the one- time anti-fascist and fighter for Re-

* THE YOGI AND THE COMMISSAR, *by Arthur Koestler. Macmillan. $2.75.*

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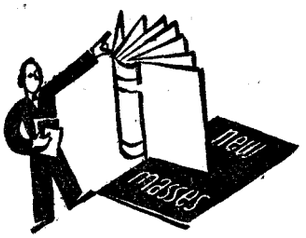

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publican Spain would leave Europe again to the destroyer of his cause. Can Koestler deny that the chief responsibility for the rearming of Germany, the rise of fascism and the delivery of Spain to Franco lies on Britain and specifically on its determination to be the arbiter in a balance-of-power Europe, weighted against the Soviet Union?

Koestler's ultimate solution lands him where most of the renegade flights from revolution and logic end—in mysticism. According to Koestler, history is the record of cyclic swings between the commissar, or scientific, thinking, and the Yogi, or contemplative, thinking. The former has been in the ascendant for three centuries, but is now on the down swing. Yogi thinking is returning into its "usurped" place. This rejection of the scientist for the mystic is managed by a *tour de force;* it is done entirely in scientific terminology. Scientists should not be surprised. Ex-revolutionists, on becoming counter-revolutionists, commonly manage the turn with citations from the revolutionary handbooks.

The heart of the book, however, is a morbid-minded attack on the Soviet Union that goes far beyond W. L. White in virulence and dishonesty. White grudgingly acknowledges some Soviet virtues; Koestler none. Koestler writes as if the Soviet Union exists in a vacuum and the choices imposed upon it by the capitalist encirclement were all voluntary choices. He has no mention of Soviet aid to Spain, or Soviet efforts for collective security, or the inter-racial fraternity in its federal structure. He does not scruple to use the discredited testimony of Leon Blitt, the Polish Socialist, not only denounced in the Polish and Czech democratic press in London but unintentionally refuted by the anti-Soviet Jan Karski in his book, *The Secret State*. Nor, since he spreads his anti-Soviet pitch over the entire Left, does he scruple about standing truth on its head. The renegades who staffed the European secret services and the European counterparts of the Dies Committee will chuckle at the Koestler version in which they are the victims and their victims the fingermen!

A REALLY comprehensive analysis of *The Yogi and the Commissar*, exposing all its offenses against logic and honesty, would require another book. I must limit myself, in conclusion, to a consideration of two other Koestler ideas. One of them, the notion of gentsia—supposedly the nervo of the social organism—as neu function, has already been effe dealt with by Joel Bradford (NM, De 19, 1944). This theory poses neuro as a function of the nerves, which mak as much sense as asserting it to be function of the digestive tract to d velop ulcers.

The other idea, wearisomely reite ated in all sorts of contexts, is that man conscious life is poor, weak and ind cisive as compared with his subconscio life. Despite reason and science an civilization the animal remains, by fa the greater part of man. The failu of the Left, insists Koestler, lies in i reliance on reason, and neglect an misunderstanding of the forces of the un conscious—though, by a characteristi contradiction, Koestler elsewhere casti gates the Left for acting too much unde the spell of the unconscious.

Can Koestler, in the entire histor of mankind, point to one instance o human advance achieved by anything but the directing force of reason? Th power of the irrational is tremendous of course, and to be reckoned with; bu as regards human progress it has oper ated negatively. Its power is shown ir the torments endured by the men o reason, the resistances they have had t overcome. Had it been otherwise more revolutions would have succeeded and fewer would have been bloody. Fortunately, for mankind, it was Czarism not the Russian revolutionists, who resorted to mystics.

But an ex-radical, reduced to faith in Colonel Blimp and Yoga, will naturally wish to decorate the descent into the irrational. Radicals will continue on the difficult but ascending path of reason.

The Basic Guys

UP FRONT, *by Bill Mauldin. Henry Holt. $3.*

BILL MAULDIN, the cartoonist of the Army newspaper *Stars and Stripes*, explains that "I draw pictures for about dogfaces because I know w their life is like and I understand t gripes." He confines himself to group at the front because "riflemen are the basic guys and the most imp tant guys in a war." The fierce p tisan attitudes of the cartoons sp for "The Benevolent and Prote Brotherhood of Them What Has Shot At."

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"In Sicily, the hunger really began . . .": sketch by Cpl. Milton J. Wynne. Part of his exhibition, "Why I Hate the Nazis," at the ACA to June 30.

Mauldin does forceful writing as well cartooning in this book. I would suggest that the reader begin with his description for the civilian of the front-line soldier's daily routine on page 145, before looking at the cartoons. He then can understand the remark, "Look at an infantryman's eyes and you can tell how much war he has seen." This background is necessary to appreciate Mauldin, because, unlike the humor and reportage in the *Yank* anthology which showed us a green army, this book is about veterans of the Italian campaign.

War is mud, monotony, fatigue, trench foot, lousy rations, artillery, mortars and ruins. The landscape "looks as if a giant rake had gone over it from end to end." In this gray hell, friendship is the most important thing. The men Mauldin speaks of are lonely and nostalgic for home. They seek release in bitching and reading, in talking and kidding. Sex is present only in talk and possible only on furlough. Liquor offers a more accessible escape.

American veterans of the Spanish war can agree with Mauldin that soldiers everywhere are pretty much alike. Col. Vincent Sheehan's statement in his review of this book that the characters are just a product of Mauldin's art, that soldiers aren't really like this, can be refuted by any combat soldier. The accuracy of this book extends to the political limitations of many soldiers, who have never been educated by our Army as to the meaning of this war. Mauldin says of the soldier in Italy, "He didn't learn to hate the Germans until he came over here. He didn't realize the immense threat that faced his nation until he saw how powerful and cruel and ruthless the German nation was." His comment on the refusal of Congress to pass a federal soldier's vote law is, "That's okay, Joe—at least we can make bets."

Every reader of this book will understand the combat veterans a little better. "They are big men and honest men," Mauldin sums them up. Together with them, we must make sure that their work will be rewarded by an effective peace. Their honesty must be matched by a like honesty on our part, for the men in this book have matured; let us hope they will recognize sham and doubletalk. BILL AALTO.

Flight to Freedom

THEY SEEK A CITY, *by Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy. Doubleday Doran. $2.75.*

IN THIS really significant book, Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy have made an illuminating contribution to both Negro and American social history. By keying both the pre- and post-Civil War behavior of Negroes to a common denominator of flight toward freedom, they have analyzed out of the complex welter of Negro social history its basic theme and counterpoint. Beyond doubt, migration has been the Negro's most frequent and most effective weapon of defense, making exodus the epic strand in his group history. He has rarely found real freedom at the end of the road, but the drive and drama of his flight toward freedom become all the more poignant and illuminating.

A well-documented but vividly pictorialized narrative follows this recurrent migration theme through from the days of the fugitive slave and the Underground Railroad to the Kansas exodus of Reconstruction days, to the city-trek of the early nineties and 1900's, to the mass migrations North and Midwest of the first World War, and finally to the still unfinished and unrecorded mass exodus of the present war spreading out even to the Far West.

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SOLUTION IN ASIA

by

OWEN LATTIMORE

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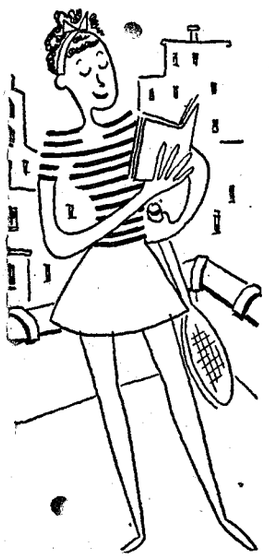

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And had they been sociologists (G forbid—since their book is so entertai ing and readable) the authors of *Th Seek a City* would have forewarned an oncoming last wave of returni Negro soldiers for whom home wor be a good place to go home to. The too, will use the weapon of movemer In their last chapter, "Freedom's Fro tier," the authors give in their ow graphic way a vital and timely sampl

"Where you bound?" a Negro tena farmer in Mississippi asked a neighb who was waiting with two bulgir imitation-leather suitcases beside a bac country road. "Goin' North to Chicag —Deetroit?"

"Naw! Too many already gone the and ain't making it so good. I wa to strike out to some place where co ored folks ain't already crowded up lil sardine fish. I'm taking that Libert Special for Frisco. California, here come." "When you aim to be back? "Never, if I can help it."

They Seek a City makes still anothe enlightening integration. It has linke up its heroes with their social back grounds and given them a dimension c social significance rarely attained in th writing of the Negro's history. Whethe it be William Still of the Undergrounc DuSable, pioneer Negro settler of Chi cago, John Jones, Chicago friend an backer of John Brown, Pop Singleto of the Kansas trek or later heroes o Negro struggle and advance, they ar not torn from their social context in tritely romantic individual success-story but instead are significantly set in th mass movements they led or made sym bols of the group aspirations which the expressed. Such an approach has brough belated recognition to a number o neglected "unsung heroes," and it ha not dropped from sight or dimmed th luster of such traditional figures a Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass Paul Laurence Dunbar, Booker T Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, o George Washington Carver. They, too are in the canvas often as not with sidelights on their social group rel ons ships.

Readers must, of course, n xpect an authoritative new social y of America's largest minority. *Th Seek a City* is modest in its historica pretensions, though scrupulously documented in its materials. It is a striking and moving sequence of vignettes, giving, as human and enlightening a panorama of the main trends and motives of Negro group life as has yet been given.

ALAIN LOCKE.

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ehind the Dark Wall

AINSTORM, *by Carlton Brown, Farrar & nehart. $2.75.*
IE DARK GLASS, *by Joan Charles. Harpers. .50.*
IEY WALK IN DARKNESS, *by Ellen C. Phil- e. Liveright. $2.50.*

CANNOT sign my name to this review—the first of my many reviews r NEW MASSES that I am unable to gn; yet in deep gratitude to the authors these three books, I cannot refrain om writing it. We who have suffered those hells that dare to call themlves "mental hospitals," have longed r the truth to be revealed; instead, e have been insulted with volume after olume of deliberate and undoubtedly ell-paid whitewash by the William abrooks, the Edith M. Sterns, the Iarie Beynon Rays, who, with their retty and highly fanciful stories, have ulled the vigilance of the nation for s mentally ill.

And now at last, in these three volmes about asylum life—one self-conessedly and the other two obviously utobiographical—the curtain is ripped side and we get a frightening glimpse nto these Dachaus, these Buchenwalds, hese Maideneks of the hospital world. They are not the first books to expose he facts; but they are the first after a ong period of complacency and self- atisfaction. How burning was the need or such disclosures we see in the curent revelations about the veterans' nental hospitals.

Brainstorm is the story, told in the irst person, of a man's incarceration in state hospital. It is the most able book f the three. *The Dark Glass* is also well lone; it is a novel relating a girl's roken marriage and her illegal comnitment and detention. *They Walk in Darkness* is a novel far inferior in craftsnanship, but with the advantage of eing written from the viewpoint, not f a patient, but of a physician who accepted a post in such a hospital, in the naive belief that he was to practice sychiatry.

All the horrors are here: the shameful neglect; the frank absence of any attempt at healing—for as far as these institutions are concerned all the great physicians of the mind might never have lived; the contemptuous mimicry of patients' symptoms and the joyously cruel frustration of their simplest and most legitimate needs and wishes; the deliberate effort to strip these unhappy people of the last shreds of dignity and hope; the illegal commitments for a fee; the cynical disregard not only of

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VOLUME XXIV, NO. 6 — JUNE, 1945

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elementary medical precepts but even of law; the peon labor in the guise of "occupational therapy"; the dreadful retribution visited upon those who voice the faintest protest; the brutal assaults on helpless patients that sometimes stop just short of murder—and sometimes don't.

FROM my own experience, and from painstaking interviews with perhaps forty other ex-patients of widely scattered hospitals, I know that the stories in these books are terribly true. The permanent resident staff members whom they introduce, I know intimately; I can give you their names and their posts.

They are the dregs of the medical profession, failures in private practice, men with whom no free patient would deal, and who seek these hospital positions frankly confessing—I have heard them lay their souls bare—that they lack interest in everything but the salary; men who are for the most part completely untutored in psychiatry, many of them openly opposed to the very idea of psychiatric practice; men who, drunk with unlimited power, become more and more autocratic, abusive, vicious. And I know also the few blessed exceptions of which these books tell—that handful of conscientious and enlightened physicians honestly endeavoring to help their patients, and for this endeavor suffering persecution only a little less fearful than that practiced upon the patients themselves.

Joan Charles, author of *The Dark Glass*, pauses in her story to remark despondently that "as long as a spark of cruelty remains in the human breast to be blown into flame by the sight of helplessness, there is no good in telling." But Joan Charles is wrong. America has merely been drugged by fairy tales about her asylums; she will learn the truth, and she will act. In the cause of that truth, these three books will do great service.

Brief Review

PAUL STRAND: PHOTOGRAPHS 1915-1945, *Museum of Modern Art. $1.50.*

FROM a selection of some of the photographs shown at their recent Strand exhibit (reviewed in NM, May 15) the Museum of Modern Art has made an attractive volume of halftone reproductions.

Nancy Newhall, acting curator of photography, has written a useful and sensitive introduction.

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Vorth Noting

EDGAR SNOW's *The Pattern of Soviet Power*, to be published by Random House on July 10, promises to take up where his *People on Our Side* left off and put the heat on those who, as he says, "are trying deliberately to twist the facts about Russia and make a future war with the Soviet seem inevitable."

"REPORT FROM RED CHINA," by Harrison Forman, is the latest selection of the Book Find Club. It brings a vivid story up to date and is important reading today.

SINCERITY IN THE THEATER

WITH the theatrical season drawing to its close it is perhaps appropriate to draw some conclusions about it. Theatrical trade papers and columns have been filled, of late, with discussions and listings of the season's "best plays" and "best performances." These exercises in award-making are perhaps titillating to the competitive emotions of theatergoers, but what cultural purpose they fulfill is very much in doubt. For it remains true that the basic ingredient of good theater is rarely if ever discussed; and its absence in our theater leaves it a hollow and tawdry thing.

I refer to sincerity. I doubt that any other art produces as much that is not heartfelt as does the theater. The very idea of sincerity has ceased to bear upon the scales of criticism. It is as though theater were a technical exercise in which creativity is deemed to be present if a new twist is given an old plot, if laughter rings out no matter how stimulated. I think that is why the critics were so bowled over by *The Glass Menagerie*, and why it continues to astonish so much of its audience. Regardless of its merits as a finished work of art, the play seems true, and today on Broadway this astonishes. And yet it is obvious that we cannot proceed with the enlargement of dramatic forms unless we follow the path that leads from the heart.

Perhaps sincerity is so rare in the theater because once its presence is felt upon the stage it must never be interrupted by the "theatrical" or the dramatic lie. There have been several plays on the boards this year which were well meant. Elliot Nugent's *A Place of Our Own* was one, and another was *Foxhole in the Parlor*. They both failed not because of their sincerity, but like the most successful, *Common Ground*, because only their themes were honestly—in the dramatic sense—conceived, while their characters were fabricated in the mills of theme's demands.

Serious and earnest themes, then, were not wholly lacking on Broadway this year; honest characterizations were. In this contradiction lies the great hurdle of progressive dramatic writing in our time. It reflects the dilemma of our progressive writers, to whom the world and its gigantic needs seem far ahead of the people around them; and to make the people into characters who can meet those social needs seems always a question of how to manipulate the truth.

But this dilemma, although apparent, is not based upon reality. I think our serious playwrights have been stricken too deeply with the journalistic curse that hovers over the modern novel as well. It is perhaps one of the unfortunate left-overs of the agit-prop thirties that Left culture is still uneasy when confronted with a work of art which, claiming to be progressive, does not strike some sort of political note. Too many of us are too willing to dismiss a work, although we may enjoy it as it transpires, if it is not a call to action. This is a limited and parochial view of any art, and when it pervades the mind of the artist endangers his search for the truth.

For the business of playwrights now, as it has ever been, is to illuminate life not as it should be but as it is. The truth itself is political. I am reminded of O'Casey's *Juno and the Paycock*. I have often been asked why the Catholic Church struck with such anger at this play when it opened in Ireland. It hardly says a word about the Church, it is about a shiftless workingman, its characters are absolutely without political or objective social sense. They are merely *living*. And yet Irish Reaction rose up against this play as it has rarely done before or since. Why?

Simply because the truth of the picture drawn upon the stage was so convincing, so close to life, that those responsible for that life were pierced to the heart and they saw the enemy, and they struck out. And the picture was true

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not because its theme was true—which it was—but mainly because its characters were *in themselves* a condemnation of society as it is constructed.

It has been a long time since such a play appeared on Broadway. The nearest approach in recent memory is *The Glass Menagerie*, but this play is too pastel to compare with *Juno*. However, when a playwright comes along who will face the dirtiest corners of our world and set about cleaning them out with real characters we shall have theater again. Until that time let us not forget that what is not true is not beautiful. And for playwrights—the drama of our time lies in the man next door, not in the newspaper he is reading.

MATT WAYNE.

Records

PERHAPS the imaginative and musical blight which for these many months has beset our major recording companies is coming to an end. I hope the recent appearance of two interesting Victor sets is a reliable omen. At any rate, I welcome the selections from *Boris Godounoff* and the second suite of Ravel's *Daphnis and Chloe*. Alexander Kipnis carries the major share in the *Boris* (Victor DM-1000, ten sides), assisted by an orchestra led by Nicolai Berezowsky and a chorus led by Robert Shaw. The great singer's voice has never sounded better; the choice of passages is intelligent, and the whole performance extraordinarily good.

Koussevitzky's performance of *Daphnis and Chloe* (Victor Showpiece 1, four sides) is also exceptional. Ravel's wonderful music is caught by the Boston Symphony in all its delicacy. The orchestral pattern is always clear; the *forte* parts are never blurred. This set too I recommend highly.

I cannot say as much for Leonard Bernstein's *On the Town* (Victor DM-995, eight sides). Though technically well done by chorus and orchestra, the music itself is none too impressive, being, for the most part strident and unoriginal, save for "Lonely Town" and "Some Other Time." The orchestration, as always in Bernstein's case, is excellent, but there isn't much in the content that isn't hackneyed.

Among the single disc records that have come to hand, Toscanini and the NBC Symphony do a re-recording of the Prelude to *Lohengrin* (Victor 11-8807) that is remarkably mediocre both in performance and in mechanics. By contrast (and in their own right too),

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Fiedler and the Boston "Pops" Orchestra sound brilliant in Mendelssohn's *Fingal's Cave* (Victor 11-8745). The movies are represented by Alexander Tansman's *Scherzo* from *Flesh and Fantasy* and Mercer-Raksin's theme from *Laura* (Victor 11-8808), both musically insignificant.

FREDERIC EWEN.

Movie Check List

The Clock. A charming though somewhat unreal account of a GI on a forty-eight-hour pass, with his girl.

Corn Is Green. Starts off as a serious film on education in rural nineteenth-century England, changes its mind part way, and ends up as a "will-he-make-it-or-will-he-not?"

Counter-Attack. A timely and first-rate job by John Howard Lawson on the Janet and Philip Stevenson play. The Korda-Lawson team of Sahara scores again.

God Is My Co-Pilot. Atheism gets the bums' rush. Chennault's Flying Tigers engage in dogfights and special missions without further worry over their souls.

I'll Be Seeing You. Attempt to deal with problems of psychoneurotic veteran hampered by labored effort to match his problem with that of a "prison-stained" girl.

It's a Pleasure. The newest Sonja Henie ice classic. A minimum of skating and a maximum of bad acting. Not kept on the ice quite long enough.

Molly and Me. Not another *Holy Matrimony*, but fair entertainment despite Woolley's now over-familiar roaring and sneering.

Picture of Dorian Gray. Banal attempt to translate Oscar Wilde's novel to the screen.

Princess and the Pirate. Bob Hope in his corniest routines to date.

Roughly Speaking. A not-too-convincing cavalcade of America of the past thirty years. Central philosophic concept is that the man with a smile is never licked, come flood or unemployment.

Royal Scandal. History treated as a plot writer's after-breakfast assignment. This one has that hangover touch.

Thunderhead, Son of Flicka. Pleasant picture of horses and scenery. A weak second to *National Velvet.*

Valley of Decision. A Greer Garson love dish larded with some weird rewriting of labor history.

The Way Ahead. A realistic account of a British platoon that could easily apply to our own GI's. By the brilliant Eric Ambler, author of *Background to Danger, Cause for Alarm* and others.

Where Do We Go From Here? Fred MacMurray tangles with history in a moderately amusing comedy of anachronisms.

Without Love. Ingratiating and humorous film with Tracy and Hepburn, on matters of total unimportance.

Wonder Man. Well, you know it has Danny Kaye, so what are you waiting for?

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